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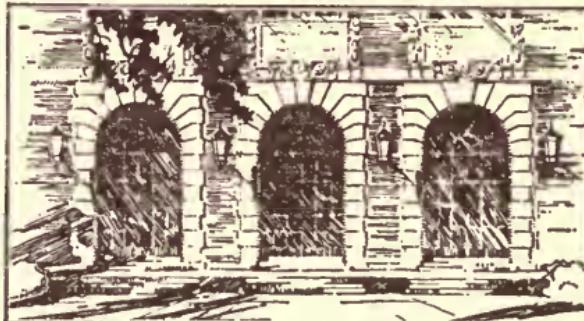
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Pictures of Illinois
One Hundred Years Ago



Wanborough
Illinois

Mountaineer

The Lakeside Classics

Pictures of Illinois One Hundred Years Ago

EDITED BY
MORRIS BIRKBECK
MILO MULTON QUAIFE
BY COURTESY OF
H. W. FAY OF DE KALB
Superintendent of
The State Historical Society of Wisconsin

With Frontispiece



The Lakeside Press, Chicago
R. R. DONNELLEY & SONS COMPANY
CHRISTMAS, MCMIII

MORRIS BIRKEBECK

A GOURMET'S GUIDE
H A DAY OF DE KARF

The Lakeside Classics

Pictures of Illinois
One Hundred Years
Ago

EDITED BY

MILO MILTON QUAIFE

*Superintendent of
The State Historical Society of Wisconsin*

With Frontispiece



The Lakeside Press, Chicago
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CHRISTMAS, MCMXVIII

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Illinois Historical
Survey

Publishers' Preface

AS this, the Sixteenth Volume of The Lakeside Classics, goes to press, the world is celebrating the armistice that ends the fighting of The Great War.

During the past year the war program has greatly disorganized American industry—taking many into direct military service, transferring many from non-war to war productions, and leaving the less essential industries curtailed and disorganized. The business of printing has suffered perhaps more than its share of this disorganization, and though the Lakeside Press has been no exception, it takes pride in its service flag of 200 stars and mourns and honors the three brave boys who have made the supreme sacrifice.

The record made by the graduates and the older apprentices of the School for Apprentices is especially noteworthy. Of 68 graduate journeymen, 35 are in uniform, as are likewise 20 of the 100 apprentices who are over eighteen. That so large a proportion of these boys should have answered their country's call is a tribute to the *esprit de corps* and patriotic sentiment of the school.

All these boys have kept up a close correspondence with members of the Press, and all take it for granted that on demobilization they

Publishers' Preface

will return to their old positions. The purpose of this school has been to train competent workingmen, who, as the years went by, would gradually constitute themselves into the organization of the skilled employees of the Press. Many skeptics first prophesied that the school was bound to be a failure, because the apprentices would not stay out the life of their apprenticeship, and when this proved erroneous, the same skeptics prophesied that, after the apprentices had graduated into journeymen and were no longer bound by their contractual relations, they would drift into other employment, and thus the years put into their education would be lost to the Press.

This war has brought the loyalty to the Press of these graduate journeymen to the supreme test, and now that their loyalty has stood firm, all doubts concerning the permanency of the school have been finally refuted and the school stands today as an established example of the practicability of educating youth into an organization of skilled craftsmen.

The history of early Illinois continues to be the subject of this year's volume. The story of Illinois one hundred years ago has been brought to our minds by the celebration this year of the Illinois Centennial. This volume gives three pictures of life in the state at that time—two of the famous English settlement of Southern Illinois, and the third, a trip of a very observing traveler up the Illinois and Des Plaines

Publishers' Preface

rivers and his story of a great Indian council held where the sky-scrapers of Chicago now stand. These selections have again been chosen by Mr. Milo Milton Quaife, whose introduction gives them their proper historical setting.

That this volume may be of interest to the reader, and that during the negotiations of the world peace, it may carry the Christmas message of peace and good-will to their friends and patrons, is the desire of

THE PUBLISHERS.

CHRISTMAS, 1918.

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Contents

	PAGE
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION	xi
PART I. OBSERVATIONS OF AN ENGLISH IMMIGRANT IN 1817—BIRKBECK	I
From Morris Birkbeck: " <i>Notes on a jour- ney from the coast of Virginia to the Terri- tory of Illinois.</i> "	
PART II. A TOUR IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS IN 1822—BLANE	39
From William Newnham Blane: " <i>An Ex- cursion through the United States and Can- ada during the years 1822-1823.</i> "	
PART III. A JOURNEY UP THE ILLINOIS RIVER IN 1821—SCHOOLCRAFT	83
From Henry R. Schoolcraft: " <i>Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley.</i> "	
APPENDIX. THE CHICAGO TREATY OF 1821.	161
INDEX.	169

Historical Introduction

Not least significant among the activities of the people of Illinois during the state's centennial year is the attention devoted to her far-away beginnings three generations ago. Amid the turmoil of the greatest war the world has ever witnessed only a people proud of its past or careless of its present and future would thus find time and energy to devote to a great historical celebration. Wisely and properly, we think, did the people of Illinois take time to signalize in fitting fashion the completion of one hundred years of statehood. If the present war has taught any lesson thus far, surely it is that of the superiority of spiritual ideals over those of mere material achievements. More precious by far to civilization than all the material achievements of Prussian kultur are the characteristics of the souls of France and Belgium as they stand revealed through the four and one-half years of national trial which close with the year 1918. As compared with these countries America is a youthful nation, and within the United States Illinois belongs to the newer portion of the country. Long since recognized in material things as one of the greatest among the commonwealths which compose the nation, it should be the resolve of every

Historical Introduction

citizen of Illinois that in the development of spiritual ideals her record shall be no less notable.

With individuals, all growth and progress are dependent upon the cultivation of memory; bereft of this, the wisest statesman would instantly become as a puling babe. With peoples the sum total of knowledge of their past corresponds to memory in the case of the individual. This body of knowledge in the case of any given people constitutes its history. Only by its assiduous cultivation can a people develop a national consciousness and soul. That the people of Illinois are not unmindful of this fact and do not intend to permit their precious historical heritage to perish through neglect, is evident from the record of their centennial year. By way of presenting some slight contribution to the state's centennial observances it has seemed appropriate this year to reproduce in the annual volume of *Lakeside Classics* some first-hand descriptions by contemporary observers of the Illinois of one hundred years ago.

Such records, known to lawyers and courts as original evidence and to scholars as source material, present a fresher and truer view of things than the second hand narration of the historian can do. Nevertheless, in the nature of the case for their proper appreciation an adequate background of historical knowledge is requisite, and this knowledge the average reader cannot be presumed to possess. To

Historical Introduction

provide briefly such a background, will be the task of the remaining portion of this introduction.

Very different in composition was the Illinois of 1818 from that of a century later. The total white population, even by the admittedly padded census taken to convince Congress that the territory had enough people to entitle it to admission to statehood, was only forty thousand, but little more than that of the city of Quincy at the present day. This population was located in the southern quarter of the state, all the settled region lying below a line drawn from St. Louis on the west to Terre Haute on the east. Even in this southern end of the state there was a large area of wilderness, the great majority of the settlers being found in two clusters of settlement, the one in the extreme east, the other in the western side of the state. There were but two centers of population in the entire state which could fairly be designated as towns. These were Kaskaskia in the west, and Shawneetown on the Ohio in southeastern Illinois. The latter town was the land office for southeastern Illinois and a considerable center of trade and travel. In 1814 it had enjoyed something of a real estate boom, but due to annual inundations of the town site by the Ohio River, and to the general unhealthfulness of the place the boom speedily collapsed and in 1816 the inhabitants, presenting a woeful picture of their sad

Historical Introduction

lot to Congress, petitioned for the omission of payment of the installments still due the government for their lots. Kaskaskia, the capital of the state, was one of the oldest civilized settlements in the Mississippi Valley. Already a century old, for almost half a century prior to the creation of Illinois Territory in 1809 the place had been declining in importance. The location of the territorial capital brought about a temporary revival. In 1818 it probably had upwards of a thousand inhabitants, a goodly proportion of them being of French or French and Indian persuasion. Although some travelers foresaw for the town a brilliant future, the loss successively of the capital, the county seat, and finally, by a freak of the Mississippi, the making of the town site into an island, doomed it to destruction, and the town has long since existed only in memory.

North of the imaginary line we have drawn from St. Louis to Terre Haute all of Illinois in 1818 was still a virgin wilderness. At Chicago there had been since the building of the second Fort Dearborn in the autumn of 1816 a few score soldiers, together with an Indian agency and perhaps half a dozen civilian families. Such connection as Chicago enjoyed with the great outside world lay to the northward, however, rather than with the settlements of southern Illinois. The Indian agency was under the superintendency of Governor Cass at Detroit, and such slight trade as passed through

Historical Introduction

the place, consisting of furs carried out of Illinois and supplies brought for the Fort Dearborn garrison, was conducted by water with Mackinac and Detroit. At the site of Peoria were the decaying remains of an old French settlement, but, this aside, there was scarcely a sign of civilization between Chicago and the mouth of the Illinois River. Nowhere on the globe, however, lay a finer tract of land, or one better suited for the development of a civilized society.

Curiously enough the earliest French visitors to this region had estimated its worth with surer judgment than did their Anglo-Saxon successors until well into the period of statehood for Illinois. Marquette, who came in 1673, was charmed with the valley of the Illinois. "We have seen nothing like this river," he wrote, "as regards its fertility of soil, its prairies and woods, its cattle [buffalo], elk, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beaver." "As to the aspect of the country," wrote Joutel, who was in Illinois several months during 1687 and 1688, "it could not be more beautiful, and I may say that the land of the Illinois is perfect, everything necessary to life and subsistence can be obtained, for, in addition to the beauty with which it is adorned, it possesses fertility." And after a further description he concludes, "So that men alone are needed for obtaining great riches in this country, and they could maintain

Historical Introduction

themselves far more easily there than in many other parts, where heavy expenses have been incurred for settlements which yield small returns and are of little importance."

Equally agreeable is the picture drawn by the unknown Frenchman, a lieutenant of Tonty, who spent upwards of a score of years in Illinois beginning with the time of La Salle's occupancy, a copy of whose memoir is preserved in the Ayer Collection at Chicago. Yet, a full century and a half later so shrewd an observer as Horace Greeley considered "Deficiency of Water" to be "the great, formidable, permanent drawback on the eligibility of the prairie region for settlement," a deficiency which he could not see could ever be permanently remedied. Of similar purport was the conclusion of Judge Storrow with respect to southeast Wisconsin in 1817. It labored, he thought, "under the permanent defects of coldness of soil and want of moisture," although he conceded that "at some remotely future period" when a dense population should make possible the application of artificial heat, the husbandman might extract means of life from it. A few years later a scientific investigating expedition sent out by the United States government (that of Major Long), visiting Chicago in 1823, found the climate inhospitable, the soil sterile, and the scenery monotonous and uninviting, and Schoolcraft whose narrative we reprint, while optimistic about northern Illinois and the future

Historical Introduction

prospects of Chicago, has only dubious praise for the region between Peoria and St. Louis.

Illinois has long since come to be regarded as a northern state, but one hundred years ago its population was predominantly southern in tone and origin. A recent investigator⁽¹⁾ concludes that two-thirds the population was southern stock, while of the remaining third one-half was of foreign origin and the other half from the New England and Middle states. Regardless of place of origin, however, the vast majority of the people lived as hunters or farmers. The great majority, probably, belonged to the hunter class. They were described by Fordham, a contemporary observer, as "unpolished, but hospitable, kind to Strangers, honest and trustworthy. They raise a little Indian corn, pumpkins, hogs, and sometimes have a cow or two, and two or three horses belonging to each family: But their rifle is their principal means of support. They are the best marksmen in the world, and such is their dexterity that they will shoot an apple off the head of a companion. They were vindictive toward the red man, but honest and generous with those whom they admitted to their friendship. They could not be called first settlers," Fordham continues, "for they move every year or two."

After this group came those whose principal livelihood was gained from farming operations, but who, with limited means at their disposal,

¹S. J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield, 1917).

Historical Introduction

still depended in part on hunting. Near the land office towns, and scattered here and there elsewhere over the territory were to be found a sprinkling of professional men—doctors and lawyers—and a considerable number of farmers of more stability and substance than was possessed by the classes already noted.

Into such a raw frontier society was suddenly projected, in the years 1817 and 1818, a remarkable influence. Two Englishmen of means and education, Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, selected a prairie site in modern Edwards County as the spot in all America best suited to their purpose of developing an economic and social experiment which should serve the double purpose of bettering their own prospects in life and demonstrating to their fellow countrymen a practicable avenue of escape from the hard economic conditions which they faced at home. Before the close of 1818 over 26,000 acres of land had been purchased and some 200 English settlers had been colonized on it. Thus was projected the famous “English Settlement” of Birkbeck and Flower. It attained much notoriety in the next few years, not the least of it due to the numerous disputes which the two founders waged, now with each other and again with critics of their enterprise. Both Birkbeck and Flower were cultured men, and through their skillful use of the pen they commanded a wide audience both in Europe and America. Moreover,

Historical Introduction

a number of European travelers who visited America during the first few years wrote up the English Settlement, and their descriptions, whether favorable or condemnatory, contributed alike to advertising the enterprise and incidentally the State of Illinois.

Thus the resources of this section were thoroughly aired throughout the older East as well as in Europe. Of more direct importance was the fact that the English settlers brought into Illinois pure bred stock, adequate capital and equipment, and a thorough familiarity with the best agricultural practices of England. They were aggressively interested, too, in public morals, education, and the orderly progress of affairs generally. Such an influence could not be other than tonic in its effect upon the rude and easy going frontier population of the state a century ago.

To pursue the fortunes of English Settlement would be interesting, but it is not our present task. Rather we are seeking to sketch the background requisite for the reader to appreciate the narrative of Birkbeck which we present. A prolific writer, one of his most popular books was the *Notes on a Journey from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois*, prepared, as the title indicates, in the form of a contemporary journal of travel. The manuscript of this work was carried eastward by Flower, who returned to England in 1817, after the journey of exploration to choose the

Historical Introduction

site of the colony had been performed, and published at Philadelphia the same year. Before the close of 1818 no less than four editions of the work had been published in London, and before the close of 1819 eleven editions had appeared in English, in Philadelphia, London, Dublin, and Cork. Meanwhile the author followed the *Notes* with another work entitled *Letters from Illinois*, which went through no less than seven English editions in the year of its publication, 1818.

The *Notes* describe Birkbeck's journey by sea from England to Virginia, and thence overland by way of Richmond, Washington, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati to his destination. The portion of the work we reprint takes up the narrative on the eve of entering Illinois, and gives one of the clearest accounts on record of the social and economic conditions prevalent in southern Illinois a century ago. In perusing it the reader should bear in mind that he is viewing the Illinois of our forefathers through the spectacles of an educated English farmer, who writes his *Notes* even while experiencing his first impressions of the frontier region to which he had come with the desire of carving out a home for himself and his children.

William Newnham Blane, who made *An Excursion Through the United States and Canada During the Years 1822-1823*, is described on the title page of his book as "an English gentleman." His introduction to the New World

Historical Introduction

was unpropitious enough, for he found New York in the grip of an epidemic of yellow fever. The city, he tells us, was practically deserted, all but seven or eight thousand of its 120,000 inhabitants having fled its limits to escape the ravages of the dread disease. Proceeding westward the traveler came in due time to Birkbeck's English Settlement. Here we take up his story, journeying with him across Illinois to St. Louis. From this point Blane's original intention was to ascend the Mississippi and return to New York by way of the Great Lakes. Failing to find any companion for the journey, however, he abandoned the project and again crossed Illinois to Harmony, Indiana, and at length by way of the great National Road to the Atlantic coast. From Blane we obtain a picture of the English Settlement four years after its establishment, and an excellent description of the sights and scenes experienced in his further journey across the state to St. Louis.

Our final narrative recites the observations made and experiences undergone in the course of a journey from St. Louis to Chicago in the summer of 1821. Henry Schoolcraft, the author, was a man of note in the Northwest a century ago. An intimate friend of Lewis Cass, who was for upwards of two decades the most important figure on the northwestern frontier, Schoolcraft served for many busy years as Indian agent at Mackinac, Sault Ste.

Historical Introduction

Marie, and other points. A cultivated, studious man, the intimate knowledge of the red man and of the geography of the Northwest which Schoolcraft was thus enabled to acquire was put to repeated service in writing the series of books which streamed from his busy pen. A large portion of southern Michigan, extending from Grand River to the Indiana line was still held by the Pottawatomi, and a council was arranged at Chicago in the summer of 1821 with a view to negotiating the cession of this magnificent area to the United States. To Chicago the American negotiators, Governor Cass and Solomon Sibley, proceeded in the summer of 1821, accompanied by Schoolcraft in the capacity of secretary and scientific observer. The route and mode of conveyance of the party from Detroit to Chicago seem strange enough to the twentieth century reader. Ordinarily one either followed the overland trail through the wilderness, some three hundred miles in length, or journeyed by canoe or sail-boat around the lakes, a journey twice as long as that by the overland trail. On the present occasion Cass and Sibley ignored both of these routes. Instead they proceeded in a large canoe across Lake Erie and thence up the Maumee and down the Wabash to the Ohio, across southern Illinois to St. Louis, and up the Illinois by boat or on horseback to Chicago. The journey supplied Schoolcraft with material for a book of nearly 500 pages, published at New

Historical Introduction

York in 1825, under the title of *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising Observations on its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population.* From it we have selected the chapters describing the journey from the mouth of the Illinois to Chicago, together with the succeeding account of the negotiations attending the Chicago Treaty of 1821. The narrative affords a good picture of the impression produced by the valley of the Illinois in the closing years of its wilderness existence upon a traveler of unusual powers of observation and expression. The account of the treaty negotiations is typical of the proceedings many times repeated at such gatherings of the red race and the white during the long course of American expansion westward over the continent.

In conclusion it may be noted for the reader's information that with the exception of the omission of footnotes the narratives are reprinted just as they appear in the books of one hundred years ago. This explanation will serve to account for the variations in the typography and for those instances of punctuation and spelling which are not in harmony with modern usage.

MILO M. QUAIFE.

MADISON, Wisconsin.



Part I
Observations of an English
Immigrant in 1817

Observations of an English Immigrant in 1817

[From Morris Birkbeck: "*Notes on a Journey from the coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois.*"]

JULY 26th. Left Harmony after breakfast, and crossing the Wabash at the ferry, three miles below, we proceeded to the Big-Prairie, where, to our astonishment, we beheld a fertile plain of grass and arable, and some thousand acres covered with corn, more luxuriant than any we had before seen. The scene reminded us of some open, well cultivated vale in Europe, surrounded by wooded uplands; and forgetting that we were, in fact, on the very frontiers, beyond which, few settlers had penetrated, we were transported in idea to the fully peopled regions we had left so far behind us.

On our arrival at Mr. Williams' habitation, the illusion vanished. Though the owner of an estate in this prairie, on which at this time are nearly three hundred acres of beautiful corn in one field, he lives in a way, apparently, as remote from comfort, as the settler of one year, who thinks only of the means of supporting existence.

We had also an opportunity of seeing the

Pictures of Illinois

youth of the neighbourhood, as the muster of the militia took place this day at his house. The company amounts to about thirty, of whom about twenty attended with their rifles: In performing the exercise, which was confined to the handling their arms, they were little adroit; but in the use of them against an invading foe, woe to their antagonists!

The soil of the Big-Prairie, which is of no great extent, notwithstanding its name, is a rich cool sand; that is to say, one of the most desirable description. It extends about five miles by four, bounded by an irregular outline of lofty timber, like a lake of verdure, most cheering to our eyes, just emerging from the dark woods of Indiana. This prairie is somewhat marshy, and there is much swampy ground between it and the Wabash, which is distant seven miles. The settlers have, in consequence, suffered from ague and other bilious complaints, but they are now much more healthy than they were on the first settlement. Cultivation seems to alter the character of the soil; where the plow goes it is no longer a marsh, but dry sandy arable. About thirty miles to the north of this, which was among the earliest prairie settlements of the district (having been done four or five years) there are prairies of higher aspect, and uneven surface to which our attention is directed. We found a few settlers round one of these, who are now watching their first crop.

Morris Birkbeck

These people are healthy, and the females and children better complexioned than their neighbours of the timbered country. It is evident that they breathe better air. But they are in a low state of civilization, about half-Indian in their mode of life. They also seem to have less cordiality towards a “land hunter” as they, with some expression of contempt, call the stranger who explores their country in quest of a home.

Their habits of life do not accord with those of a thickly settled neighbourhood. They are hunters by profession, and they would have the whole range of the forest for themselves and their cattle.—Thus strangers appear among them as invaders of their privileges; as they have intruded on the better founded exclusive privileges of their Indian predecessors.

But there are agreeable exceptions to the coarse part of this general character. I have met with pleasant intelligent people who were a perfect contrast to their semi-Indian neighbours; cleanly, industrious, and orderly: whilst ignorance, indolence, and disorder, with a total disregard of cleanliness in their houses and persons are too characteristic of the hunter tribe.

August 1st. Dagleys, twenty miles north of Shawnee Town. After viewing several beautiful prairies, so beautiful with their surrounding woods as to seem like the creation of fancy, gardens of delight in a dreary wilderness; and after losing our horses and spending two days

Pictures of Illinois

in recovering them, we took a hunter as our guide, and proceeded across the Little Wabash, to explore the country between that river, and the Skillet-fork.

Since we left the Fox settlement, about fifteen miles north of the Big-Prairie, cultivation has been very scanty, many miles intervening between the little "clearings." This may therefore be truly called a new country.

These lonely settlers are poorly off:—their bread corn must be ground thirty miles off, requiring three days to carry to the mill, and bring back, the small horse-load of three bushels. Articles of family manufacture are very scanty, and what they purchase is of the meanest quality and excessively dear: yet they are friendly and willing to share their simple fare with you. It is surprising how comfortable they seem, wanting everything. To struggle with privations has now become the habit of their lives, most of them having made several successive plunges into the wilderness: and they begin already to talk of selling their "improvements," and getting still farther "back," on finding that emigrants of another description are thickening about them.

Our journey across the Little Wabash was a complete departure from all mark of civilization. We saw no bears, as they are now buried in the thickets, and seldom appear by day; but, at every few yards, we saw recent marks of their doings, "wallowing" in the long grass,

Morris Birkbeck

or turning over the decayed logs in quest of beetles or worms, in which work the strength of this animal is equal to that of four men. Wandering without track, where even the sagacity of our hunter-guide had nearly failed us, we at length arrived at the cabin of another hunter, where we lodged.

This man and his family are remarkable instances of the effect on the complexion, produced by the perpetual incarceration of a thorough woodland life. Incarceration may seem to be a term less applicable to the condition of a roving backwoodsman than to any other, and especially unsuitable to the habits of this individual and his family; for the cabin in which he entertained us, is the third dwelling he has built in the last twelve months; and a very slender motive would place him in a fourth before the ensuing winter. In his general habits, the hunter ranges as freely as the beasts he pursues: labouring under no restraint, his activity is only bounded by his own physical powers; still he is incarcerated—"shut from the common air." Buried in the depth of a boundless forest, the breeze of health never reaches these poor wanderers; the bright prospect of distant hills fading away into the semblance of clouds, never cheered their sight. They are tall and pale, like vegetables that grow in a vault, pining for light.

The man, his pregnant wife, his eldest son, a tall half-naked youth, just initiated in the

Pictures of Illinois

hunters' arts, his three daughters, growing up into great rude girls, and a squalling tribe of dirty brats of both sexes, are of one pale yellow, without the slightest tint of healthful bloom.

In passing through a vast expanse of the backwoods, I have been so much struck with this effect, that I fancy I could determine the color of the inhabitants, if I was apprized of the depth of their immersion; and, *vice versa*, I could judge of the extent of the "clearing" if I saw the people. The blood, I fancy, is not supplied with its proper dose of oxygen from their gloomy atmosphere, crowded with vegetables growing almost in the dark, or decomposing; and, in either case, abstracting from the air this vital principle.

Our stock of provisions being nearly exhausted, we were anxious to provide ourselves with a supper by means of our guns; but we could meet with neither deer nor turkey; however, in our utmost need, we shot three racoons, an old one to be roasted for our dogs, and the two young ones to be stewed up daintily for ourselves. We soon lighted a fire, and cooked the old racoon for the dogs; but, famished as they were, they would not touch it, and their squeamishness so far abated our relish for the promised stew, that we did not press our complaining landlady to prepare it: and thus our supper consisted of the residue of our "corn" bread, and *no* racoon. However, we laid our bear skins on the filthy earth, (floor there was none,)

Morris Birkbeck

which they assured us was “too damp for fleas,” and, wrapped in our blankets, slept soundly enough; though the collops of venison, hanging in comely rows in the smoky fireplace, and even the shoulders, put by for the dogs, and which were suspended over our heads, would have been an acceptable prelude to our night’s rest, had we been invited to partake of them: but our hunter and our host were too deeply engaged in conversation to think of supper. In the morning the latter kindly invited us to cook some of the collops, which we did by toasting them on a stick; and he also divided some shoulders among the dogs:—so we all fared sumptuously.

The cabin, which may serve as a specimen of these rudiments of houses, was formed of round logs, with apertures of three or four inches between. No chimney, but large intervals between the “clapboards,” for the escape of the smoke. The roof was, however, a more effectual covering than we have generally experienced, as it protected us very tolerably from a drenching night. Two bedsteads of unhewn logs, and cleft boards laid across:—two chairs, one of them without a bottom, and a low stool, were all the furniture required by this numerous family. A string of buffalo hide stretched across the hovel, was a wardrobe for their rags; and their utensils, consisting of a large iron pot, some baskets, the effective rifle and two that were superannuated, stood about in

Pictures of Illinois

corners, and the fiddle, which was only silent when we were asleep, hung by them.

Our racoons, though lost to us and our hungry dogs, furnished a new set of strings for this favourite instrument. Early in the morning the youth had made good progress in their preparation, as they were cleaned and stretched on a tree to dry.

Many were the tales of dangerous adventures, in their hunting expeditions, which kept us from our pallets till a late hour; and the gloomy morning allowed our hunters to resume their discourse, which no doubt would have been protracted to the evening, had not our impatience to depart caused us to interrupt it, which we effected, with some difficulty by eleven in the forenoon.

These hunters are as persevering as savages, and as indolent. They cultivate indolence as a privilege; "You English are very industrious, but we have freedom." And thus they exist in yawning indifference, surrounded with nuisances and petty wants, the first to be removed, and the latter supplied by a tenth of the time loitered away in their innumerable idle days.

Indolence, under various modifications, seems to be the easily besetting sin of the Americans, where I have travelled. The Indian probably stands highest on the scale, as an example; the backwoodsman the next; the new settler, who declines hunting takes a lower degree, and so on. I have seen interesting

Morris Birkbeck

exceptions even among the hunting tribe; but the malady is a prevailing one in all classes: — I note it again and again, not in the spirit of satire, but as a hint for reformation:

“To know ourselves diseased is half a cure.”

The Little Wabash, which we crossed in search of some prairies, which had been described to us in glowing colors, is a sluggish and scanty stream at this season, but for three months of the latter part of winter and spring, it covers a great space by the overflow of waters collected in its long course. The Skillet-fork is also a river of similar character; and the country lying between them must labour under the inconvenience of absolute seclusion for many months every year, until bridges and ferries are established. This would be a bar to our settling within the “Fork,” as it is called. We therefore separated this morning, without losing the time that it would require to explore this part thoroughly. I proceed to Shawnee Town land office, to make some entries which we had determined on, between the Little and the Big Wabash. Mr Flower spends a day or two in looking about, and returns to our families at Princeton. Having made my way through this wildest of wildernesses to the Skillet-fork, I crossed it at a shoal, which affords a notable instance out of a thousand, of the utter worthlessness of reports about remote objects in this country, even from *soi-disant* eye-witnesses.

Pictures of Illinois

A grave old hunter, who had the air of much sagacity, declared to me, that he visited this shoal, that it is a bed of limestone, a substance greatly wanting in this country. The son confirmed the father's account, adding that he had seen the stone burnt into lime. It is micaceous sandstone slate, without the least affinity to lime-stone!

It is a dreadful country on each side of the Skillet-fork; flat and swampy; so that the water in many places, even at this season, renders travelling disagreeable. Yet here and there, at ten miles distance perhaps, the very solitude tempts some one of the family of Esau to pitch his tent for a season.

At one of these lone dwellings we found a neat, respectable-looking female, spinning under the little piazza at one side of the cabin, which shaded her from the sun. Her husband was absent on business, which would detain him some weeks. She had no family, and no companion but her husband's faithful dog, which usually attended him in his bear hunting in the winter. She was quite overcome with "*lone*" she said, and hoped we would tie our horses in the wood, and sit awhile with her, during the heat of the day. We did so, and she rewarded us with a basin of coffee. Her husband was kind and good to her, and never left her without necessity, but a true lover of bear hunting; which he pursued alone, taking only his dog with him, though it is common for

Morris Birkbeck

hunters to go in parties to attack this dangerous animal. He had killed a great number last winter, five, I think in one week. The cabin of this hunter was neatly arranged, and the garden well stocked.

August 2nd. We lodged last night at another cabin, where similar neatness prevailed within and without. The woman neat, and the children clean in skin, and whole in their clothes. The man possessed of good sense and sound notions, ingenious and industrious, a contrast to backwoodsmen in general. He lives on the edge of the seven miles' prairie, a spot charming to the eye, but deficient in surface-water, and they say the well-water is not good: I suppose they have not dug deeper than twenty-five feet, which is no criterion of the purity of springs in a soil absorbent from the surface to that depth.

Shawnee Town. This place I account as a phenomenon evincing the pertinacious adhesion of the human animal to the spot where it has once fixed itself. As the lava of Mount Etna cannot dislodge this strange being from the cities which have been repeatedly ravaged by its eruptions, so the Ohio with its annual overflowings is unable to wash away the inhabitants of Shawnee Town.— Once a year, for a series of successive springs, it has carried away the fences from their cleared lands, till at length they have surrendered, and ceased to cultivate them. Once a year, the inhabitants either make

Pictures of Illinois

their escape to higher lands, or take refuge in their upper stories, until the waters subside, when they recover their position on this desolate sand-bank.

Here is the land office for the south-east district of Illinois, where I have just constituted myself a land-owner by paying seven hundred and twenty dollars, as one-fourth of the purchase money of fourteen hundred and forty acres: this, with a similar purchase made by Mr. Flower, is part of a beautiful and rich prairie, about six miles distant from the Big, and the same from the Little Wabash.

The land is rich natural meadow bounded by timbered lands, within reach of two navigable rivers, and may be rendered immediately productive at a small expence. The successful cultivation of several prairies has awakened the attention of the public, and the value of this description of land is now known; so that the smaller portions, which are surrounded by timber, will probably be settled so rapidly as to absorb, in a few months, all that is to be obtained at the government rate, of two dollars per acre.

Sand predominates in the soil of the south-eastern quarter of the Illinois territory:—the basis of the country is sand-stone, lying, I believe, on clay-slate. The bed of the Ohio, at Shawnee Town is sand-stone: forty miles north-east, near Harmony, is a quarry of the same stone, on the banks of the Big Wabash.

Morris Birkbeck

The shoals of the little Wabash and the Skillet-fork, twenty, forty, and sixty miles up, are of the same formation. No lime-stone has yet been discovered in the district. I have heard of coal in several places, but have not seen a specimen of it. Little, however, is yet known with precision of the surface of many parts of the country; and the wells though numerous, rarely reach the depth of thirty feet, below which, I presume, the earth has in no instance been explored.

The geographical position of this portion of territory promises favourably for its future importance. The Big Wabash, a noble stream, forming its eastern boundary, runs a course of about four hundred miles through one of the most fertile portions of this most fertile region. It has a communication well known to the Indian traders, with Lake Huron and all the navigation of the north, by means of a portage of eight miles to the Miami of the lakes. This portage will, probably, be made navigable in a few years. Population is already very considerable along this river, and upon White River, another beautiful and navigable stream, which falls into the Wabash from the east. The Little Wabash, though a sluggish stream, is, or may become, a navigable communication extending far north, I am informed four hundred miles.

The prairies have been represented as marshes, and many of them are so. This is

Pictures of Illinois

not, however, the case with all. Our prairie rises at its northern extremity to a commanding height, being one of the most elevated portions of the country surmounting, and overlooking the woodlands to the south and west, to a great distance. There are also many others to the northward on lands of the same eligible character, high and fertile, and surrounded by timbered lands. These are unsurveyed, and of course are not yet offered to the public.

Nothing but fencing and providing water for stock is wanted to reduce a prairie into the condition of useful grass land; and from that state, we all know, the transition to arable is through a simple process, easy to perform and profitable as it goes on. Thus no addition, except the above on the score of improvement, is to be made to the first cost, as regards the land. Buildings, proportioned to the owner's inclination or purse, are of course requisite on every estate.

The dividing a section (six hundred and forty acres) into inclosures of twenty-five acres each, with proper avenues of communication, each inclosure being supplied with water, in the most convenient manner, and live hedges planted, or sown, will cost less than two dollars per acre. This added to the purchase money, when the whole is paid, will amount to eighteen shillings sterling, per acre, or five hundred and seventy-six pounds for six hundred and forty acres.

Morris Birkbeck

Calculations on the capital to be employed, or expended on buildings, and stock alive and dead, would be futile, as this would be in proportion to the means. The larger the amount, within the limits of utility, the greater the profit: but, as the necessary outgoings are trifling, *a small sum will do.* Two thousand pounds sterling for these purposes would place the owner in a state of comfort and even affluence.

I conclude from these data, that an English farmer possessing three thousand pounds, besides the charges of removal may establish himself *well* as a proprietor and occupier of such an estate. The folly or the wisdom of the undertaking I leave among the propositions which are too plain to admit of illustration.

In their irregular outline of woodland and their undulating surface, these tracts of natural meadow exhibit every beauty, fresh from the hand of nature, which art often labours in vain to produce; but there are no organs of perception, no faculties as yet prepared in this country, for the enjoyment of these exquisite combinations.

The grand in scenery I have been shocked to hear, by American lips, called disgusting, because the surface would be too rude for the plough; and the epithet of *elegant* is used on every occasion of commendation but that to which it is appropriate in the English language.

An elegant improvement, is a cabin of rude logs, and a few acres with the trees cut down

Pictures of Illinois

to the height of three feet, and surrounded by a worm-fence, or zig-zag railing. You hear of an *elegant* mill, an *elegant* orchard, an *elegant* tan yard, etc., and familiarly of *elegant* roads,—meaning such as you may pass without extreme peril. The word implies eligibility or usefulness in America, but has nothing to do with taste; which is a term as strange to the American language, where I have heard it spoken, as comfort is said to be to the French, and for a similar reason:—the idea has not yet reached them. Nature has not yet displayed to them those charms of distant and various prospect, which will delight the future inhabitants of this noble country.

Scientific pursuits are also, generally speaking unknown where I have travelled. Reading is very much confined to politics, history and poetry. Science is not, as in England, cultivated for its own sake. This is to be lamented the more, on account of the many heavy hours of indolence under which most people are doomed to toil, through every day of their existence. What yawning and stretching, and painful restlessness they would be spared, if their time were occupied in the acquisition of useful knowledge!

There is a sort of covetousness which would be the greatest of blessings, to those Americans whose circumstances excuse them from constant occupations for a subsistence,—that is, to the great majority of the people,—the

Morris Birkbeck

covetousness of time, from a knowledge of its value.

The life and habits of the great Franklin, whose name, I am sorry to say, is not often heard here, would be a most profitable study. He possessed the true philosopher's stone; for whatever he touched became gold under his hand, through the magical power of a scientific mind. This lamentable deficiency in science and taste, two such abundant sources of enjoyment, must not be attributed to a want of energy in the American character. Witness the spirit and good sense with which men of all ranks are seen to engage in discussions on politics, history, or religion, subjects which have attracted, more or less, the attention of every one. Nature has done much for them, and they leave much to Nature; but they have made *themselves* free;—this may account for their indifference to science, and their zeal in politics.

August 3rd, Harmony.—We left Shawnee Town this morning under more agreeable impressions regarding its inhabitants than we had entertained before we entered it. We found something, certainly of river barbarism, the genuine Ohio character; but we met with a greater number than we expected of agreeable individuals: these, and the kind and hospitable treatment we experienced at our tavern, formed a good contrast to the rude society and wretched fare we had left behind us at the Skil-

Pictures of Illinois

let-fork. At this, our third visit, Harmony becomes more enigmatical. This day, being Sunday, afforded us an opportunity of seeing grouped and in their best attire, a large part of the members of this wonderful community¹. It was evening when we arrived, and we saw no human creature about the streets:—we had even to call the landlord of the inn out of church to take charge of our horses. The cows were waiting around the little dwellings, to supply the inhabitants with their evening's meal. Soon the entire body of people, which is about seven hundred, poured out of the church, and exhibited so much health, and peace, and neatness in their persons, that we could not but exclaim, surely the institutions which produce so much happiness must have more of good than of evil in them; and here I rest, not lowered in my abhorrence of the hypocrisy, if it be such, which governs the ignorant by nursing them in super-

¹ Harmony was a communistic society the founder and leader of which was Frederick Rappe. Early in the century he led several hundred Germans to America and established a settlement in Pennsylvania. Rappe was a shrewd manager and his followers were industrious and efficient workers. Accordingly the community prospered greatly. In 1814 Rappe removed with his followers to the Indiana wilderness, founding there the town of New Harmony. The place was frequently visited and described by travellers in the West. Its prosperity is sufficiently attested by Birkbeck. For longer contemporary accounts of the colony see Harlow Lindley (ed.), *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers* (Indianapolis, 1916).

Morris Birkbeck

stition; but inclined in charity to believe that the leaders are sincere. Certain it is, that living in such plenty, and a total abstraction from care about the future provision for a family, it must be some overbearing thraldom that prevents increase of their numbers by the natural laws of population.

I had rather attribute this phenomenon to bigotry pervading the mass, than charge a few with the base policy of chaining a multitude, by means of superstition. It is, however, difficult to separate the idea of policy from a contrivance which is so highly political. The number of Mr. Rapp's *associates* would increase so rapidly, without some artificial restraint, as soon to become unmanageable.

This colony is useful to the neighbourhood, a term which includes a large space here: it furnishes from its store many articles of great value, not so well supplied elsewhere; and it is a market for all spare produce. There are also valuable culinary plants and fruit trees, for which the neighbourhood is indebted to the Harmonites; and they set a good example of neatness and industry: but they are despised as ignorant; and men are not apt to imitate what they scorn. Ignorant as the mass of Harmonites may be, when we contrast their neatness and order, with the slovenly habits of their neighbours, we see the good arising from mere *association*, which advances these poor people a century, probably much more,

Pictures of Illinois

on the social scale, beyond the solitary beings who build their huts in the wilderness. For my reflections on the principles which may be supposed to actuate the rulers of this highly prosperous community, having no personal knowledge of the parties who govern, nor intimacy with any of the governed, I have no data, except the simple and, possibly, superficial observations of a traveller. Should I in this character have under-rated or mistaken them, I shall, when their neighbour, gladly repair my error.

From our entrance into the state of Ohio, at Wheeling, to the southern boundary of the Illinois, there is, properly speaking, no *capital* employed in agriculture, as far as our observations extended.

The little that exists, over and above the value of the soil, is to be seen in towns, in the stores, and in mills.

The whole stock of the first settlers generally consisted in their two hands: and the property they now possess—the fruit of the labour of these hands—can hardly be considered as capital employed in agriculture, as the sum of the best improvements yet effected, only consists in a few more of the *necessaries* of life; and when the little money that is obtained for produce is expended in further improvements, the cultivator merely suspends his right to partake of its *comforts*. He has no capital, properly speaking, employed in agriculture,

Morris Birkbeck

whilst he remains unfurnished with the means of comfortable living.

As exceptions to the universal bareness and poverty of the country in regard of capital, there are a few instances in which its association with the physical power of numbers, has produced effects so marvellous, that it seems to be equally marvellous that such striking advantages should not have produced more undertakings of a similar nature.

The instances I allude to, are the two settlements of the Shakers, one near Lebanon, in the state of Ohio, and the other on the Wabash, fifteen miles north of Vincennes, in the state of Indiana:—also the original establishment of Mr. Rapp and his followers in Pennsylvania, and their present wonderful colony of Harmony, on the Wabash, thirty miles south of this place.

In the institution of these societies, the Shakers and the Harmonites,—religion, or, if you will, fanaticism, seems to be an agent so powerful, and in fact *is* so powerful in its operation on the conduct of their members, that we are apt to attribute all the wonders that arise within the influence of this principle to its agency alone: for what may not be effected, by a sentiment which can bear down and abrogate entirely, in the instance of the Shakers, and nearly so in that of the Harmonites, the first great and fundamental law of human, or rather of *all*, nature? I allude to the tenet

Pictures of Illinois

which is avowed in the former, and more obscurely inculcated in the latter, that the gospel of Christ is offered to them under the injunction of abstinence from sexual intercourse.

I have had repeated opportunities of personal observation, on the effects of the united efforts of the Harmonites. The result of a similar union of powers among the Shakers, has been described to me by a faithful witness; and I am quite convinced that the association of numbers, in the application of a good capital, is sufficient to account for all that has been done: and that the unnatural restraint, which forms so prominent and revolting a feature of these institutions, is prospective, rather than immediate in its object.

It has, however, as I before remarked, the mischievous tendency to render their example, so excellent in other prospects, altogether unavailing. Strangers visit their establishments, and retire from them full of admiration; but, a slavish acquiescence under a disgusting superstition, is so remarkable an ingredient in their character, that it checks all desire of imitation.

I wish to see capital and population concentrated, with no bond of cohesion, but common interest arising out of vicinity; the true elements, as I conceive, of a prosperous community.

The effects of this simple association would not be so immediately striking as those above

Morris Birkbeck

mentioned, because the entire physical strength of the society could not be directed to one point, but would be apparent after a little time. Such a society needs only room to prosper. No emancipation or breaking up would be feared or thought of.

There is a plan before us, not yet sufficiently matured for publication, which I hope may, at no distant time, afford to some of our countrymen the means of proving, that capital, skill, and industry, are capable of changing "a wilderness into a fruitful field," without the stimulus of fanaticism, or the restraints of superstition. The leading features of this scheme are, that men of capital who shall embark in it may, by affording to the poor the means of escaping from their sufferings, secure to themselves those enjoyments and habits of life to which their station in society has accustomed them; and obviating in respect to both classes the chief inconveniences of emigration.

The great want of capital in this country is evinced by this circumstance: the growers of "corn" (Indian corn) and other grain, sell at this season regularly, under the knowledge that it will as regularly advance to double the price before the next harvest. We now have an offer of two hundred barrels of "corn," five bushels to the barrel, at a dollar per barrel, when the seller is quite aware that it will be worth two dollars per barrel at midsummer.

Pictures of Illinois

Thus store-keepers, or other capitalists, receive as much for the crop, clear of expences, as the grower himself, who clears the land, ploughs, sows, and reaps it. We may judge from this consideration how much the farmer is kept back for want of spare capital; and what will be the advantages of the settler who commands it. The same remark applies to bacon, and every article of produce.

We must not suppose, that the poor farmer who is obliged to sell under such a disadvantage, is absolutely *poor*. He is, on the contrary, a thriving man. Probably, the person who now spares us from his heap two hundred barrels of corn, possessed three years ago, nothing but his wife and family, his hands, and his title to a farm where an axe had never been lifted. He now, in addition, has a cabin, a barn, a stable, horses, cows, and hogs; implements, furniture, grain, and other provisions; thirty or forty acres of cleared land, and more in preparation, and well fenced; and his quarter section in its present state, worth four times its cost. He is growing rich, but he would proceed at a double speed, if he had the value of one year's crop beforehand: such is the general condition of the new settlers.

A good cow and calf, is worth from twelve to twenty dollars; a two year old heifer, six dollars; sheep are scarce; ewes are worth about three dollars a head; a sow three dollars; a stout horse for drawing, sixty dollars or upwards.

Morris Birkbeck

Wheat sells at 3*s.* 4*½d.* sterling, per bushel, Winchester measure.

Oats, 1*s.* 4*d.*

Indian Corn, 1*1d.*

Hay, about 35*s.* per ton.

Flour, per barrel, 36*s.*; 196 lb. net.

Fowls, 4*½d.* each.

Eggs, *½d.*

Butter, 6*d.* per pound.

Cheese, rarely seen, 13*½d.* per pound.

Meat, 2*d.* per pound.

A buck, 4*s.* 6*d.* without the skin.

Salt, 3*s.* 4*d.* per bushel.

Milk, given away.

Tobacco, 3*d.* per pound.

Our design was to commence housekeeping, but, being near the tavern, we continue to board there. This is more convenient to us, as there is but a poor market in this little town, and the tavern charges are reasonable. Our board is two dollars per week, each person, for which we receive twenty-one meals. Excellent coffee and tea, with broiled chickens, bacon, etc. for breakfast and supper; and variety of good but simple fare at dinner; about five pence sterling a meal. No liquor, but water is thought of at meals in this country, besides coffee, tea, or milk.

Travelling expences are very regular and moderate, amounting to a dollar per day, for man and horse,—viz.—

Pictures of Illinois

Breakfast and feed for horse.....	$37\frac{1}{2}$	Cents
Feed for horse at noon.....	$12\frac{1}{2}$	
Supper, and lodging, man and horse.....	50	
		—
		100 that is 1 dollar.

The power of capital in this newly settled or *settling* region, is not thoroughly understood in the eastern states, or emigration would not be confined to the indigent or laborious classes. These seem to be all in motion; for the tide sets far more strongly from these states towards the west, than from all Europe together. Trade follows of course; and it is not surprising that old America no longer affords a sure asylum for the distressed of other countries.

I am fully convinced, that those who are not screwed up to the full pitch of enterprise had better remain in old England, than attempt agriculture or business of any kind (manual operations excepted) in the Atlantic states. Emigrants from Europe are too apt to linger in the eastern cities, wasting their time, their money, and their resolution. They should push out westward without delay, where they can live cheaply until they fix themselves. Two dollars, saved in Pennsylvania, will purchase an acre of good land in the Illinois.

The land carriage from Philadelphia, to Pittsburgh, is from seven to ten dollars per cwt. (100 lb.) Clothing, razors, pocket-knives, pencils, mathematical instruments, and light

Morris Birkbeck

articles in general, of constant usefulness, ought to be carried even at this expence, and books, which are scarce, and much wanted in the west. Good gun-locks are rare and difficult to procure. No heavy implements will pay carriage.

A pocket compass is indispensable for every stranger who ventures alone into the woods of America, and he should always carry the means of lighting a fire: for the traveller, when he starts in the morning on a wilderness journey, little knows where next he may lay his head. Tow, rubbed with gunpowder is good tinder:—a few biscuits, a phial of spirits, a tomahawk, and a good blanket, are necessary articles. Overtaken by night, or bewildered, if thus provided, you may be really comfortable by your blazing fire; when without them, you would feel dismal and disconsolate. A dog is a pleasant and useful fellow-traveller in the backwoods. You should make your fire with a fallen tree for a back-log, and lie to leeward, with your feet towards it. The smoke flying over, will preserve you from the damp air, and mosquitoes. Tie your horse with a long rein, to the end of a bough, or the top of a young Hickory tree, which will allow him to graze or browse; and change his position if you awake in the night.

Princeton, August 4. When the back country of America is mentioned in England, mosquitoes by night, and rattlesnakes by day,

Pictures of Illinois

never fail to alarm the imagination; to say nothing of wolves and bears, and panthers, and Indians still more ferocious. Our course of travelling from the mouth of James River, and over the mountains, up to Pittsburgh, about five hundred miles; then three hundred miles through the woods of the state of Ohio, down to Cincinnati; next across the entire wilderness of Indiana, and to the extreme south of the Illinois. This long and deliberate journey one would suppose, might have introduced our party to an intimate acquaintance with some of these pests of America. We have, it is true, killed several of the serpent tribe; black snakes, garter snakes, etc.; and have *seen* one rattle-snake of extraordinary size. We have had mosquitoes in a few damp spots, just as we should have had gnats in England. In our late expeditions in the Illinois, where we have led the lives of thorough backwoodsmen, if we have been so unfortunate as to pitch our tent on the edge of a creek, or near a swamp, and have mismanaged our fire, we have been teased with mosquitoes, as we might have been in the fens of Cambridgeshire: this is the sum total of our experience of these reported plagues.

But, for this forbearance, ample amends are made by the innumerable tormentors which assail you in almost every dwelling, till at length you are glad, as evening approaches,

Morris Birkbeck

to avoid the abodes of man, and spread your pallet under the trees.

This indoors calamity is so universal in the backwoods that it seems to be unavoidable, and is submitted to as such with wondrous equanimity. By degrees, however, as the present wretched and crowded hovels shall give place to roomy and convenient habitations, the spirit of cleanliness will gain admission, and the miseries which always accompany filth and disorder will be brushed away, as the plagues of Egypt were charmed by Aaron's rod.

Wolves and bears are extremely numerous, and (especially the latter) very injurious to the newly settled districts. Hogs, which are a main dependence for food as well as profit, are their constant prey; and their holds are so strong, that the hunters are unable to keep down their numbers. There is a swamp of several miles in length, to the north of Shawnee Town, (and, I am told, there are many other such places) which is only passable for man over the dams made by beavers: here the bears are absolute: the swamp affords abundance of food for hogs also, and they *will* resort to it. Yesterday, as I was riding along the side of this swamp, a farmer told me he had lost eight large hogs there this summer.

The wolves are very destructive to both hogs and sheep; but they seldom attack sheep till a few years after a settlement has been

Pictures of Illinois

made, when accident or hunger induces them to make trial of mutton; and when they have once tasted it they are not easily deterred. Bears are lean in summer and very swift of foot, so that dogs can hardly overtake them; but in winter they grow excessively fat on hickory nuts and other kinds of mast, and are unable to run for want of breath; and this is the season of bear-hunting. The flesh of bears is in high estimation, and the skin is worth from three to five dollars, according to the size. Neither of these marauders attack man unless when they are wounded, when they turn on the hunter with great fury.

August 5. The heat of this climate is not so oppressive to my feelings in the open prairies as in the deep woods, nor in either so much so as I expected. I have been using strong exercise through three of the hottest days that have been experienced for years, as say the people who talk of the weather, in the prairies—at Shawnee Town, on the Ohio, and here at Princeton—“How did you stand the heat of Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday?” The fact was, that, on one of those days, I walked with my gun in the prairie, exposed to the sun’s rays, in quest of turkeys, and travelled on horseback the other two, without great inconvenience. There is the comfort of a breeze every day; and the only breezeless sultry night I have experienced, proved the prelude to a thunder-storm the succeeding day.

Morris Birkbeck

I think it may be attributed to these frequent thunder-storms, that the summers of this climate are so pleasant and salubrious. When the fervency of the season becomes oppressive, suddenly the clouds collect, and a few rattling peals are heard; if near, accompanied by a soaking shower; if at a distance, you have no rain; but the cooling invigorating effect is soon perceived in the atmosphere.

August 7. We are now domiciliated in Princeton. Though at the farthest limits of Indiana, but two years old, and containing about fifty houses, this little town affords respectable society: it is the county-town, and can boast as many well-informed genteel people, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as any county-town I am acquainted with. I think there are half as many individuals who are entitled to that distinction as there are houses, and not one decidedly vicious character, nor one that is not able and willing to maintain himself².

* * * * *

August 10. It is even so. See note of July 7³. We are on the confines of society, among the true backwoodsmen. We have

² The portion omitted consists of an account of navigation on the Ohio and the Mississippi between Louisville and New Orleans.

³ The note referred to gives an optimistic account of the backwoodsmen, written when Birkbeck first came among them.

Pictures of Illinois

been much among them—have lodged in their cabins, and partaken of their wretched and scanty fare: they have been our pilots to explore situations still more remote and which only hunters visit.

From a nearer view of these people, something must be withdrawn from the picture which is given of their moral character, in the note above referred to.

It is rather an ill-chosen or unfortunate attachment to the hunters' life, than an unprincipled aversion to the regulations of society, which keeps them aloof from the abodes of more civilized men.

They *must* live where there is plenty of "bear and deer, and wild honey." Bear hunting is their supreme delight: to enjoy this they are content to live in all manner of wretchedness and poverty: yet they are not savage in disposition, but honest and kind; ready to forward our wishes and even to labor for us, though our coming will compel them to remove to the "outside" again.

Not a settlement in this country is of a year's standing—no harvest has rewarded their toil; but our approach, as I anticipated, will dislodge many of them, unless they should be tempted by our dollars to try the effect of labour, instead of the precarious supply derived from their beloved rifle. Half-a-dozen of these people, who had placed themselves round a beautiful prairie, have, in fact come

Morris Birkbeck

forward to sell us their all,—fat cattle, hogs, and this their first crop of corn, now just maturing: if we purchase they will go to some deeper recess, and build other cabins, and prepare cattle and corn, to be again quitted at the approach of some succeeding adventurers like ourselves; who may be considered, in this view, as the next grade in society.

But, that our friends in England, who may read these notes, may have an idea of our real position, let them consider our two families, viz. that of my friend Mr. George Flower, late of Marden, in England, and my own, about to be fixed upon eligible sites on our two adjoining estates, of fifteen hundred acres each, which we have carved for ourselves from a beautiful prairie and the adjoining woods.

Here we are preparing to raise buildings: carpenters and builders have offered themselves: estimates are made and materials are at hand. We are also providing for gardens and orchards, that we may literally “sit under our own vines and our own fig trees.” We might now mow many hundred acres of valuable grass, if we had a stock of cattle to require it.

The fee simple of each of these estates amounts to three thousand dollars, £ 1, 350 sterling; they are liable to a land tax of thirty dollars a year to the general government, and about the same to the county, together something more than one penny per acre.

We shall have a certain and good market

Pictures of Illinois

for produce from the growing population; or by export down the Ohio.

Cattle and hogs thrive well, and even fatten, especially the latter, to a great size on the food they find; and there is no bound to the number that may be raised, but in the ability of the breeder. They require little care, except to protect them from bears and wolves—keeping them tame, by giving them salt frequently.

On these estates we hope to live much as we have been accustomed to live in England: but this is not the country for fine gentlemen or fine ladies of any class or description, especially for those who love state, and require abundance of attendants.

To be easy and comfortable here, a man should know how to wait upon himself, and practice it, much more, indeed, than is common among the Americans themselves, on whom the accursed practice of slave-keeping has, I think, entailed habits of indolence, even where it has been abolished. It has also produced among those, who have no objection to earning their subsistence by labour in any other way, a bigotted aversion to domestic service. House-slaves are called “servants,” and the word “slave” and “servant,” are in many places synonymous, meaning “slave.” Thus abhorring the name of domestic service, as implying slavery, they keep their young people at home in indolence, and often in rags, when they might be improved in every way, by the easy

Morris Birkbeck

employment offered them in the farms of their more affluent neighbours.

This prejudice against a name, I should think might gradually be surmounted, by good management, and the powerful co-operation of self interest. But, however this may be, families, who remove into western America, either from Europe, or the Atlantic states, should bring with them the power and the inclination to dispense in a great degree, with domestic servants. How far this may be carried, consistently with real comfort, is yet to be proved; but, I believe, very far, by the aid of various mechanical and economical contrivances, which money may procure where it cannot procure servants; and these aided by a simple system of living.

After all, some real convenience, and some agreeable reflections, arise out of the scarcity of domestics:—parade entertainments are discouraged by it; and, if altogether relinquished, so much the better: hospitality need not suffer.

There is also compensation for some privations, in reflecting that you are not here surrounded by crowds of indigent fellow-creatures, who would gladly pick up the crumbs that fall from your table. With more of these, the rich might supply their domestic establishments: but who is the American who desires such a state of things?

The inconvenience sustained by a few may be cheerfully borne when we consider that it arises out of the general prosperity.

Part II
A Tour in Southern Illinois
in 1822

A Tour in Southern Illinois in 1822

[From William Blane: *An excursion through the United States and Canada, during the years 1822-1823.*]

FROM Vincennes, I turned to the left, in order to cross White River, below the junction of its two Forks, and proceed through Princetown and Harmony, to Birkbeck's English settlement at Albion.

The road, or rather path, to the ferry on White River, runs chiefly through low flat Barrens, with here and there a patch of Prairie. Upon arriving at the bank, I found the ice running so thick, and in such very large cakes, that the boat could not cross. Some men with a drove of hogs had already waited there two days, and the ferryman said that I had very little chance of being able to cross for a day or two, and perhaps not for a week. I therefore determined to cross the country, in a westerly direction, so as to meet the Wabash just above its junction with White River.

Upon inquiring of the ferrymen, if there were any house in the neighbourhood at which I could stop, they informed me that there was only one, which belonged to a Scotch gentleman who had lately settled in this part of the coun-

Pictures of Illinois

try. "But although," said one of them, "I am certain he does not keep open house, yet perhaps as you are a stranger, he will allow you to stay there tonight."

As it was getting late I determined to lose no time, and accordingly, after a ride through the woods of about two miles, I found myself at the settlement.

The house, which was of a much better description than any I had lately seen, was situated on a gentle rise, overlooking the river, and surrounded with a large space of cleared land. I dismounted, and upon opening the door was delighted to see six or seven men in Highland bonnets, sitting around a blazing fire. I mentioned to the gentleman that I was a stranger, and should feel much obliged to him for a night's lodging for myself and my horse; upon which he immediately, with the genuine hospitality I have so often experienced in his native land, said that I was welcome to stay there, and to partake of whatever his house afforded.

He had left Perthshire at the head of twenty of his countrymen, and had fixed himself on this spot; and although he had only been here eight months, had already put everything into very good order.

My fare was sumptuous, compared to what it had been for some time past; and moreover I had a good bed to sleep in, with a pair of fine clean sheets.

I am particular in noticing this luxury, be-

William Newnham Blane

cause it was only in two other places that I enjoyed it, during the whole of my travels, in the States of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. In general the beds were altogether without sheets; and the blankets had probably, since their manufacture, never experienced the renovating effects of a good washing. Sometimes indeed there would be one sheet, and occasionally two; but cleanliness in this particular I had almost despaired of.

Many of my countrymen, because they have not met with much comfort in these out of the way places, have, upon their return home, most unjustly and ridiculously imputed the same want of comfort to every part of the United States. But let us consider, that from Vincennes to Louisville is a distance of 120 miles, and that from thence to Washington, by the ordinary route up the Ohio river and through Wheeling is 731 miles: so that one of these delicate travellers would be equally entitled to abuse the whole of Great Britain, because he might meet with bad accommodations in the Orkneys. Moreover, woods are not cut down, and good inns established, in a day, nor even a year; and he who cannot put up with some inconvenience will do well to avoid travelling in a new country.*

*In many places where I have met with execrable accommodations, future travellers will find good inns; for the whole country is so rapidly improving, that what is true of the Backwoods one year ceases to be so the next.

Pictures of Illinois

This settlement is in a beautiful situation, surrounded by fertile land; but alas! it has shared the fate of all the neighbourhood with regard to sickness; two of the emigrants having died, and several others being very ill. I went away in the morning, after receiving an invitation from my worthy host to repeat my visit if I should ever pass again in that direction.

The path from hence to the Wabash, lies through a thickly wooded country, abounding in game. I expected to have had much difficulty in crossing the river; for though there was a ferry boat, it had been drawn ashore and was frozen to the ground. Fortunately, however, I found a man going over in a flat boat with some cattle. The Wabash just above had closed up and frozen over, so that here, where the stream was very rapid, there was little or no floating ice. After crossing, I rode along the right bank to Palmyra. This most dirty, miserable little village was once the county town of Edwards County, Illinois; an honour which is lost, in consequence of the superior healthiness of Albion.

After stopping a night at Palmyra, I proceeded along a road which was in a very bad state, and which was very difficult to find. About two miles before arriving at the Bon-pas river is one of the largest and worst swamps I ever passed through. I can form no idea of its length; but it is full two miles broad where the road crosses it. At the Bon-pas, five miles

William Newnham Blane

from Albion, I found a wooden bridge, which is a great convenience to travellers, as they would otherwise often have to swim the stream, both the banks of which are steep and slippery.

On arriving at the far-famed settlement of Albion, I found that it by no means merited all the abuse I had heard of it in England. The town is indeed small; but has at any rate a very pleasing appearance, as contrasted with most of those in the Backwoods.

I was hospitably received by Mr. Birkbeck and Mr. Flowers. They both have large houses. That belonging to Mr. Flowers is a peculiarly good one, and is very well furnished. One room in particular was carpeted, and contained a nice assortment of books, and a pianoforte; all luxuries of great rarity in these remote districts. The inn is a well-built brick house, and might have been made very comfortable; yet, although kept by an Englishman, it has none of the characteristics of an English inn; but, on the contrary, partakes largely of those of the Backwoods; so much so indeed, as to be a subject of remark even to the Americans. I stayed here several days without having clean sheets.

While at Albion I read all the books and reviews that have been written both for and against this settlement. One traveller describes it as an earthly paradise, another as a miserable unhealthy swamp; the truth is about midway between these extremes.

Pictures of Illinois

Albion is situated on a dividing ridge, as it is called, which separates the waters of the Little, from those of the Big Wabash. On this account it is more healthy than most of the neighbouring country, though it is not at all times free from the prevalent autumnal disease—an ague, accompanied with fever. The year I was there the settlement had been remarkably healthy; which surprised me the more, as wherever else I had travelled, the people complained of illness.

Albion and Wanborough, of which Albion is by much the most thriving little village, are about a mile and a half distant from each other, and border on the fine tract of land called the English Prairie. All the prairies in the neighbourhood of Albion are remarkably beautiful. These large natural meadows, when not too extensive, remind one of a nobleman's park in England. Surrounded by forest, which juts out into them in points, and occasionally diversified with clumps and belts of wood, they form a most agreeable prospect, especially after one has passed through such an interminable wilderness of trees.

Albion seems to be greatly in want of good water; for though many wells have been dug, in which this most necessary article has been found, yet the village itself is still without an ample supply during the dry season.

The settlement has been considerably benefitted by having been lately elevated to the

William Newnham Blane

rank of a county seat; and it will, no doubt, some day or other, become a place of importance.

The farms in the neighbourhood are increasing in magnitude and number. The year I was there the settlers had exported produce for the first time. The way they effected this, was by loading several flat boats with corn, flour, pork, beef, sausages, etc., and floating them down the Wabash into the Ohio, and from thence down the Mississippi to New Orleans, a distance of about 1,140 miles. The mere length of this navigation proves that the settlement is capable of great efforts. But the grand objection is the general unhealthiness of the neighbouring country; for if the Illinois were as healthy as England, it would soon equal, or even surpass, all that Mr. Birkbeck has written in its favor.

One of the principal inducements to settle at Albion, in preference to any other place in the State, is, that there is a very clever English Surgeon there, who having had a regular education under Abernethy, and walked the Hospitals in London, must be a great acquisition to families in the neighbourhood. Persons who have not visited the Western States cannot have any idea of the general ignorance of the practitioners of medicine. A young man, after an apprenticeship of a year or two in the shop of some ignorant apothecary, or at the most, after a very superficial course of study

Pictures of Illinois

at some school or college, is entitled to cure (or rather kill) all the unhappy Backwoodsmen who may apply to him for advice. It would be well if they were all as harmless in their practice as Dr. Elnathan Todd, a person described in the *Pioneers*, an American novel, and whose character, drawn to the life, gives a good idea of one of these physicians. Indeed, to become a doctor in the Backwoods, it is only necessary to have a cabin containing 50 or 100 dollars' worth of drugs, with a board over the door, affirming that this is Dr. M. or N.'s "Store."

What appeared to me to be one of the great drawbacks to settling at Albion, was, that there were two parties who were in open hostility with one another, and whose eternal prosecutions enabled two lawyers, even in this small settlement, to thrive upon the dissensions of the community. Mr. Flowers was the person, against whom the greatest indignation of the opposite party was pointed; but, although I was at the time informed of their mutual grievances, yet I have since so entirely forgotten them, that I cannot take upon me to say which party was in the right. I must confess, however, I was greatly mortified at seeing these foolish people, after having left their country, crossed the Atlantic, and travelled 1000 miles into the wilderness, quarrelling with one another and making each other's situation as disagreeable as possible. The hostile par-

William Newnham Blane

ties do not even speak; and thus the respectable inhabitants, who might constitute a very pleasant little society, are entirely kept apart from one another.

The lower class of English at Albion, that is, the common labourers and manufacturers, have, I am sorry to say, very much degenerated; for they have copied all the vices of the Backwoodsmen, but none of their virtues—drinking, fighting, etc., and, when fighting, “gouging” and biting. In England, if two men quarrel, they settle their dispute by what is called “a stand up fight.” The by-standers form a ring, and even if one of the combatants wish it, he is not permitted to strike his fallen antagonist. This is a manly, honourable custom, which the people of England have good reason to be proud of. But fighting in the Backwoods is conducted upon a plan, which is only worthy of the most ferocious savages. The object of each combatant is to take his adversary by surprise; and then, as soon as he has thrown him down, either to “gouge” him, that is, to poke his eye out, or else to get his nose or ear into his mouth and bite it off. I saw an Englishman at Albion who had a large piece bitten out of his under lip. Until I went into the Backwoods, I could never credit the existence of such a savage mode of fighting. I believe something of the same kind was once customary in Lancashire; but it has, since the days of pugilism, been totally exploded. This abominable practice of

Pictures of Illinois

gouging is the greatest defect in the character of the Backwoodsmen.

With regard to Mr. Birkbeck's letters, every one who has lately been at the settlement, must allow, that the description he has given of the advantages of the situation, is somewhat exaggerated. But I also believe, that every one who knows Mr. Birkbeck, must be perfectly convinced that his exaggerations were unintentional; and this I am sure would be granted, even by those who have found to their cost, that it is much more difficult to increase one's capital in Illinois than in England.

When Mr. Birkbeck first arrived in this State, land, and particularly produce, bore a much higher price than it does at present. Hence this Gentleman, being rather an enthusiast, and viewing only the bright side of things, described the country in a manner, which, even at the time, was not literally correct. But the transition from war to peace, from an annual expenditure of 33,000,000 dollars to 13,000,000, combined with the opening of so much new territory, and with other fortuitous circumstances, has now reduced the western farmers to great distress. Indeed the agriculturists of all the Western States have suffered nearly as much as the same class of people in Great Britain. Mr. Birkbeck has participated in the general calamity, as it is well known that he does not possess as many dollars at this moment, as he did pounds sterling when he left England. But

William Newnham Blane

for this, which was his misfortune, and not his fault, he has been greatly and unjustly calumniated in several publications.

I must however beg to be understood, that I by no means advise my countrymen to emigrate to Albion, or indeed to any other place whatsoever. On the contrary, I am convinced that any one, who has even a prospect of making a decent livelihood in England, would be a fool and a madman to remove to the Illinois.

To the family-man, who finds his property and his comforts daily diminishing, without any prospect of their changing for the better, the English settlement may be an object worth attending to; though, for my own part, should I ever be obliged to emigrate (which I trust in heaven will never be the case), I should give a decided preference to the State of New York, or to Canada, or Pennsylvania, for reasons to be mentioned hereafter.

A bachelor has no business in the Backwoods; for in a wild country, where it is almost impossible to hire assistance of any kind, either male or female, a man is thrown entirely upon himself. Let any one imagine the uncomfortable-ness of inhabiting a log-cabin, where one is obliged to cut wood, clean the room, cook one's victuals, etc., etc., without any assistance whatsoever; and he will then feel the situation of many unhappy young men, who have come to this settlement, even from London, and quite by themselves. To a family-man the case is

Pictures of Illinois

different. When isolated from the world, as every one must expect to be who goes to the Backwoods, he has an immense resource in domestic enjoyments, and particularly in the care and education of his children. How different from the solitary inhabitant of a log-cabin in this most solitary country!

But even the married emigrants cannot be perfectly happy. How often have I observed the love of their native land, rising in the hearts of those of my exiled countrymen, whom I have met with in different parts of this vast continent! When I have spoken to them of England, and particularly if I had been in the countries or villages where they once dwelt, their eyes have glistened, and their voice has been almost choked with grief. Many a one has declared to me, that it was with the most heart-rending anguish, that he determined to abandon his home and his relations. But what could he do? poverty stared him in the face. Many a one has told me, over and over again, that were the tithes and poor-rates taken away, or were they even only diminished so that he could make a shift to live, he would return to his native land with the most unfeigned joy.

I recollect that some time after this, I met, at Harmony in Indiana, one of our fine English yeomen who had emigrated with a considerable sum of money. He told me that the desire of returning home had of late preyed so much

William Newnham Blane

upon his mind, that he would have gone, but for the receipt of some letters that stated the terrible agricultural distress in England. "If, sir," said he, "I could only make shift to live at all, I would certainly go back immediately. My old woman is pining to revisit her relations and her long lost home, and she entreats me to return, if even we should work for our daily bread. I have been making arrangements, and have even sold most of my stock; but now this letter tells me I could not live. I have but little money, and if I could not rent a farm upon which I could gain a subsistence, I should at last become a pauper. It is only the shame of this that detains me here. I assure you, sir, I have never ceased to regret the hasty step I took in leaving my country; but the fear of losing my all drove me away."

I do not pretend to understand the mysteries of government; but I am sure no one could have heard this man, and could then have laid his hand on his heart, and said that he sincerely believed, the happiness of the English people was properly attended to. Can it be politic, setting aside all thoughts of justice, to drive away the hardy peasant by depriving him of his well earned pence? And to whom is this money given? To sinecurists, who are often already enormously rich, and to churchmen, whose primates live in a state of more than princely luxury, and the aggregate of whose revenues is nearly equal to that of all the other

Pictures of Illinois

protestant clergy in the whole world. Surely we may say with Goldsmith:—

“Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country’s pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied.”

Supposing a man intends to emigrate, he should contrast the good with the bad, and will then, from his own sentiments, be able to determine what course to take. A man in England enjoys numberless little comforts which he does not appreciate. Moreover, with moderate temperence, he has the certainty of enjoying good health. But when he goes to the Backwoods of America, he has everything to do for himself; he has a difficulty even of obtaining shoes, clothes, etc.; and he then begins to call luxuries what he once considered only as necessities. He lives in a log-cabin, cut off as it were from the world, and in all probability suffers from the prevailing diseases of the country. As to the specious accounts and calculations, that he is to increase his capital, and make his fortune; so far is this from the truth, that if he once invest his money in land, he is compelled to remain, out of inability to dispose of it. Money and land are not, as in England, convertible; and it often happens, that land in the Backwoods, cannot be disposed of at any price.

Nevertheless, I must allow that emigration offers some great advantages. In the United

William Newnham Blane

States a man, instead of renting a farm, can, for a small sum of money, become a respectable landholder. He will no longer be pestered every quarter-day, for rent, and tithes, and poor-rates. There is indeed a land-tax, but it is so trifling that it may be left out of any calculation, not being annually more than one farthing per acre. The emigrant becomes here independent: he is even considered as a member of the great political body; for, as is the case in the State of Illinois, after residing six months he is entitled to vote, and at the end of five years, by becoming a citizen, is eligible to any office or place in the whole United States, President only excepted. Though the gain of the colonist be but small, his mind is at ease. His fortune cannot well diminish, and with moderate industry may slowly increase. At all events he can look forward without anxiety to the establishment of the family.

As, however, every one views things in a different light, I most earnestly recommend all persons intending to emigrate, to visit the country before they move their families to it. Indeed it is a duty which the emigrant owes them, to see the place he intends to remove them to. The whole expence of a journey from England, even to Illinois, and back again, might, by taking a steerage passage across the Atlantic, be easily included in 100£; a sum, which a man with even a small capital could

Pictures of Illinois

not grudge, in so momentous a concern as that of emigrating. I have, moreover, no hesitation in saying, that the 100£ would be well laid out, even should he afterwards determine to emigrate. By going through the country, he would have an opportunity of seeing several States, and could judge which would best suit his ideas of comfort and profit. He would inform himself accurately about the life of the American farmers, and about the value of land as connected with the healthiness of its situation, and of its proximity to a market or a navigable river. He should also inform himself concerning the methods of cultivation; for it must be considered, that although an English farmer may know very well how to raise wheat and oats, he is perfectly ignorant of the culture of cotton, tobacco, and particularly of Indian corn, which is the grand staple of the Southern and Western States, and of which 500 bushels are raised for every bushel of any other grain. Indeed most of the small Backwoods farmers do not cultivate anything else.

If four or five families from the same part of England wish to emigrate, they would do well to send first of all one of *their own* number, a poor man, but upon whom they could rely. His journey would cost much less than 100£.; perhaps only 50£; for, on arriving at the other side of the water, he might travel on foot, and yet go as far in three days as a horseman would in two.

William Newnham Blane

By adopting such a plan the emigrant may become independent of books, which at most are but fallacious guides; every one, in his views of a strange country, being influenced more or less by his former mode of life.

A poor man would, I think, if willing to work, live more comfortably in the State of New York, or in Pennsylvania, than in the Illinois; but then he could not so easily become an independent landholder.

There is one class of people, however, whom I must on no account dissuade from emigration, I mean the poor Irish. Never, in all my travels, have I seen any set of people who are so wretched as these. The poorest Swiss or German peasant, is rich and well off compared to them. Persecuted, and put almost out of the pale of the law, on account of their faith; obliged, when almost starving, to stint themselves in food, in order to support a religion they abhor; living on roots; often not having enough even of these; and probably not tasting bread or meat once a year;—surely such men cannot but find any change advantageous. I verily believe, that the poorer class in Kerry are no better off, and no more civilized, than when Ireland was first conquered by Earl Strongbow. If they could emigrate en masse, they would become superior beings, and I would strongly advise every one of them, who possesses the means of getting to the sea-side, to work or beg his passage over, and go where

Pictures of Illinois

he may, so that at all events he may quit his native land—that den of human wretchedness.

Before concluding the subject of emigration, I must say, though with bitter feelings of regret, that it is the intention of the people of the Illinois to constitute themselves a slave-holding State. So powerful is avarice, and so weak is patriotism, that many inhabitants, to whom I spoke upon the subject, acknowledged that it would ultimately be a great curse to the State; but this was indifferent to them, as they intended going away. These wretches think, that if their State can be made a slave state, many of the wealthy southern planters will emigrate to it, and that thus the price of land will be increased. As they wish to sell theirs, many will on that account vote for slavery.

Now the present constitution of Illinois (Art. 6.) says: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: nor shall any male person arrived at the age of twenty-one years, nor female person arrived at the age of eighteen years, be held to serve any person as a servant, under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a bona fide consideration, received, or to be received, for their service."

William Newnham Blane

The legislature of Illinois meets only once in two years, and by the constitution, if any alteration be required, all that can be done by the legislature, in which the proposition for an alteration is brought forward, is to advise the people to enable the next legislature, to call a convention of the whole State, for the purpose of making the said alteration. In order to give this advice, there must be a majority of two-thirds. I grieve to say, that when I was there this majority had been obtained. As, however, the convention cannot be called for two years, there is some little hope that the emigrants from the Northern and New England States, who are all strongly opposed to slavery, may increase so as to make head against the proposition. There is also some little chance, that the General Government of the United States will, as it ought, interfere. Neither, however, of these chances appeared to me to be very great.

Those who have been the cause of this convention, are the men who have come from the slave-holding States. On their success in getting the votes of two-thirds of the legislature, the Conventionalists assembled at two or three public dinners, at which they drank, among other toasts, "The State of Illinois—*give us plenty of negroes*, a little industry, and she will distribute her treasures." "*A new constitution, purely republican*, which may guarantee to the people of Illinois the peaceable enjoyment of *all species of property*."

Pictures of Illinois

What mortified me the most, was to find that many of the English at Albion were in favor of the iniquitous plan. Some few indeed of the more respectable are opposed to it; and Birkbeck and Flowers have even declared, that should it be carried into effect, they will leave the State. It remains to be seen how far they are sincere. There are, on the other hand, certain miscreants, who have fled from their own country, to avoid, as they tell you, the tyranny of tithes and taxes, and who have yet no hesitation in giving their vote for merciless personal slavery, and the consequent entailing of endless misery and degradation, upon tens of thousands of their fellow men. It is the conduct of such unprincipled wretches as these, that gives a handle to the serviles of Europe to declaim against liberty, by showing that there are some men utterly unworthy to enjoy it. It always annoyed me that any person in a free country should uphold slavery; but I felt it doubly mortifying, to discover, that among such wretches, there were Englishmen.

Upon leaving Albion, I determined to "strike" the road leading to St. Louis in the State of Missouri, by taking a North-west course of about forty miles across the country. The road, or trace as it is more properly called, leading to Cat's Ferry on the Little Wabash, is through a wild country, and is somewhat difficult to find. For a considerable distance it runs through some beautiful little Prairies,

William Newnham Blane

which appear to be very fertile, if one may judge from the lofty stalks of Indian corn, which continue standing, during the winter, round the cabin of occasional settlers.

In travelling through these Prairies, every one must be struck with the vast number of a species of grouse, called "Prairie Fowls." These very much resemble the Scotch grouse, both in color, and in being feathered to the feet; but are somewhat larger. They differ however in this particular, viz., that when disturbed, they will settle upon a fence or tree, if any be near. They are delicious eating, and are killed in great numbers by the unrivalled marksmen of this country. After driving up a flock of these birds, the hunter advances within fifteen or twenty paces, raises his long heavy rifle, and rarely misses striking the bird on the head. I have witnessed over and over again this surprising accuracy, and have fired away numberless pounds of lead in trying to imitate it, but without success. I contented myself therefore with shooting the birds in the body, by which I rather tore and spoilt them. But, however difficult I found it to hit the bird anywhere with a single ball, the Backwoodsmen regarded my unsportmanlike shooting with as much contempt, as one of our country squires feels, when a cockney shoots at a covey of partridges on the ground.

I have seen at one time, several hundreds of Prairie fowls in a flock. They would afford

Pictures of Illinois

excellent sport to any one who could procure a smooth-bored gun—an article, which, unless brought to Albion by the English settlers, is unknown throughout the whole of the Illinois. If a person with this sort of gun were an adept in shooting flying, he might easily kill a hundred birds, or even more, in a day. But shooting flying is an art wholly unknown to the Backwoodsmen. Indeed I have often been amused, when speaking to them on this subject, to see with what scepticism they have received my accounts, gravely asking me, whether I really meant that any one with a double-barrelled gun, could kill two birds on the wing, one after the other.

On these occasions I have been asked, when they discovered what country I belonged to, whether it were really true, that a man in England might not kill deer, if he found them in a forest. They were much astonished, and seldom gave me full credit, when I told them, that not only a man might not kill deer, but unless he possessed land of a certain value, and were also provided with a license, he could not kill even the partridges and pheasants which lived upon his own wheat. Such flagrant injustice, appeared to them impossible; and I was sometimes obliged to explain, that the English game-laws are the remains of a Feudal oppression which formerly punished the killing of a hare by death, while homicide could be atoned for by a fine.

William Newnham Blane

While I was passing through a point of wood running into one of the Prairies, two racoons, who had come out to enjoy the fine weather, ran up a small tree, so near me, that had I been inclined I could easily have killed them both. These animals are very numerous, and their fine and soft skins are worth about 20 cents (10*d*) each.

I was much amused by a story told me about these skins. "Money was at one time so scarce in Indiana, that racoon skins passed current, being handled from one person to another. But some Yankees (New Englanders) forged these notes, by sewing a racoon's tail to a cat's skin, and thus destroyed the currency." This, like many other good stories about the Yankees, is no doubt a fiction; and was only intended to perpetuate the dislike of the New Englanders, who nevertheless excel all the settlers, in industry, education, civility, and morality.

I found Fox river quite frozen, except in one place, where the ice had been broken, in order, apparently, that the stream might be forded by some cattle, the marks of whose hoofs were visible upon the snow and earth. I had been told, before leaving Albion, that the ford was a very bad one, and that I should perhaps have to swim. But, in addition to other difficulties, I found the banks uncommonly steep and slippery. However, as it was getting dark, I made up my mind for an immersion, and was just preparing to plunge in, when three hunters

Pictures of Illinois

coming out of the wood on my left, shouted out that the river was not fordable. When they came up, they addressed me as usual, with, "Stranger, where are you going? where did you come from? etc., etc." Having answered their questions, I began asking them about the ford, the trace, etc. They told me, I could not possibly go that night to Cat's Ferry, as it was twelve miles off, and the pathway very difficult to find, even during daylight, when the "*blazing*"* on the trees was visible. They added, there was no house in the whole distance. "But," said one of them, "my house is only four miles off, and although it is out of your road, you had better go home with me, or you will lose your way; and you will find sleeping out very unpleasant, as it will freeze sharply to-night." The men who addressed me were all in hunting-shirts, and had with them their rifles, tomahawks, and knives. From this formidable appearance, I at first almost hesitated to trust myself with them; but upon reflecting that if they intended me any harm, they could shoot me at once and throw me into the river, I perceived the folly of my suspicions. They very civilly helped me to take off my saddle and saddle-bags, which two of

*When a road is first of all made through the woods, and before many of the trees have been cut down, someone gives every fifth or sixth tree in the intended line, two or three chops, with an axe. which marks are essential to finding the way. This is called "*blazing*."

William Newnham Blane

them assisted me to carry, till we came to some drift wood, fixed in the ice, and upon which we crossed. The third man remained behind, and when we had returned opposite to the ford, drove in my horse, who swam over, and mounted the bank, though not without some difficulty. The man then went down the river, crossed the driftwood, and joined us.

It was now quite dark, and as I accompanied these men through the belts of wood, and over the prairies between the river and their house I could not help reflecting, that they might, without even the possibility of suspicion, dismiss me from this best of all possible worlds, and afterwards appropriate to themselves, my saddle-bags, watch, money, and horse.

As I was a perfect stranger, no one would have inquired about me; and indeed if I had been an inhabitant of an adjoining State, and had had friends who could have made a search for me, the murderers could have never been discovered, or even any trace of the murder have been obtained, in so wild a part of the country. Yet these fears were entirely groundless, for I have been alone, in the woods and Prairies at all hours of the day and night, and never met with anything in the shape of danger.

In the Atlantic States, indeed, I had heard a great many stories about the danger of passing through the Backwoods, but I could scarcely, when there, hear any authentic accounts even of robberies.

Pictures of Illinois

It may not here be amiss to say something about the manners and characters of the back settlers of the country.

The first who penetrate into the woods, and who dwell on the very frontiers of civilization, are the Hunters. These men lead a wandering life, much resembling that of their occasional companions, the Indians. They subsist almost entirely on game; and what little money they make is obtained by the sale of furs, etc. As soon as the country begins to be settled, and when, consequently, game becomes scarce, the Hunters break up their habitations, and move further off. It has been the fashion in the United States to speak ill of these men, but, I think, without reason. There are no doubt among them very bad and profligate characters, who, having fled from justice, have adopted this mode of life; but such persons are not very often heard of. And indeed they have no right to the title of Hunters; for, of course, they are not very skillful in killing game, using the rifle, etc. It is requisite for a Hunter to have been accustomed to this from his earliest infancy; and it may easily be imagined, that a man who has fled from some city for committing forgery, or any other crime, would make but a bad Hunter; in the same way as in England, an engraver, if obliged to quit his trade, would make but a bad gamekeeper.

For my own part, and as far as my own observations go, I shall always speak well of

William Newnham Blane

the real Hunters; for I have invariably found them open-hearted and very hospitable. Their manner of life, indeed, makes them, in some degree, partake of the Indian character, though they by no means have the same nobleness of sentiment, and high sense of honor.

The next in order, after the Hunters, are the Squatters. Some of these men have been Hunters, who, from the increase of their families, can no longer pursue their former mode of life. But whatever the Squatters may have originally been, they kill a great deal of game, and are fond of hunting, though they do not depend upon it for subsistence.

Lastly come the farmers and more substantial settlers, who buy their land, either from the government or from individuals, clear away the woods, break up the Prairies, and carry on their operations on a large scale. These are the men, who, assembling together on particular spots, found small villages, which not unfrequently increase into populous towns.

Almost the first thing done, after making a road to one of these *towns*, as they are always called, however small they may be, is to establish a newspaper; which probably is at first only issued weekly, and is small in size. Besides matters of local interest, it contains abstracts of the debates in Congress, most of the new laws, etc; but always has a considerable portion filled up with extracts from books

Pictures of Illinois

or magazines concerning scientific and useful inventions.

But to return to my guides.

Upon arriving at our place of destination, I found it a miserable log cabin of only one room. What grieved me particularly was, that there was no shelter for my horse, who was wet and cold from his bath, and whom I had to tie for the night to a tree.

A log cabin of the smaller sort is a curious object when first seen. Each wall is made of large rough logs of wood, laid one on another, and which are notched at the ends to let in those of the other walls. As there is always more or less space between the logs, small pieces of wood are driven in to stop up the interstices. This operation is called *chinking*; and before it has been performed, the cabin, in winter, would be uninhabitable from the cold, were it not for the great fire that is always kept up. The whole, or nearly the whole of one side of the cabin forms a huge fire-place, the wall being protected from the flames by large flat stones. When, of a winter's evening, the back of the fire-place is filled with a great log called the "back-log," and is piled up with large billets of wood, it forms a very comfortable and cheering spectacle. The environs of the cabin appear very extraordinary to an European; for it is generally built in a small clear spot in the midst of a forest, and surrounded with large trees which have been

William Newnham Blane

girdled, and blackened with fire, till they resemble huge pillars of charcoal.*

After supping upon venison and hommony, I wrapped myself in my saddle-blanket, and making a pillow of my saddle, as I had often done before, laid myself down before the fire, and fell asleep.

The next morning, my host, who would receive no recompense for his hospitality, walked a mile with me, to put me into the proper direction for "striking" the path leading to Cat's Ferry.

After seeing an immense number of deer in my ride through the wooded flats of the Little Wabash, I crossed the river, and came for the first time into the large Prairies, which, from their size, almost entirely lose their beauty, and present nothing but an immense sea of grass. From hence, indeed, to St. Louis they are but seldom intersected by belts of wood, which are confined to the water courses.

I am at a loss to account for the formation of those extraordinary meadows, and all the theories I have read upon the subject appear to me very unsatisfactory. The wood, wherever

*Among the most laborious occupations of the settler is the cutting down the trees. Some of these are so gigantic, that the labour of chopping them down would be immense. He therefore cuts off the bark in a belt about four or five inches wide, and this is called *girdling*. The tree dies, and the year after, when it is dry, it is set on fire, and continues to burn slowly until gradually consumed.

Pictures of Illinois

it intersects them, or runs in at points, does not gradually decrease in size, but remains as lofty as elsewhere, and gives the ground an appearance of having once been cleared. The fertility of the soil renders it still more astonishing that the wood should terminate so abruptly as sometimes even to resemble a wall. Those who are of opinion that the Prairies are artificial, maintain that they were caused by the fires, which the Indians make in the autumn and winter. But these plains increase in magnitude as one advances west; and, after crossing the Mississippi, the whole country, between that river and Mexico, is, with very little exception, one immense Prairie.

I came upon the St. Louis road, near a house kept by a Mr. Fitch, where I got better fare, and a more comfortable bed, than I had had for some time. There is a considerable piece of forest around this place. In most of the Western States, the farmers and tavern keepers possess large droves of hogs, which they seldom or never feed, but suffer to run at large in the woods, where they subsist upon mast. In winter the owners generally try to collect and drive them up for a short time, for the purpose of marking them. The sows just before pigging do not return home, but make a bed of leaves and grass in the hollow of a tree, or in some other sheltered spot, where they bring forth their young, and protect them as well as they are able from the wolves, bears, and their still

William Newham Blane

more formidable enemies, the wild cats and cata-mounts. I have known settlers that possessed several hundred hogs, none of which were ever driven home, except when their owners wanted to kill them, either for home consumption or for sale.

Where the forests are filled with underwood, it occasionally happens that some hogs make their escape, and, becoming quite wild, must be shot. Indeed, most of them follow the mode of life of wild animals, as far as consists in lying quiet all day, and feeding at night. While hunting in the woods, I have often come upon ten or twelve of them, asleep, and almost buried in the leaves which they had collected together, and made into a bed.

In the neighbourhood of Fitch's tavern, as there had been an abundance of mast (by which word is meant beechnuts, acorns, chesnuts, etc.) the settlers had all congratulated themselves upon its being a plentiful year for their hogs; but one of those amazing flights of pigeons, of which I have already spoken, suddenly came into this part of the woods, and devoured not only all the mast that had fallen, but even that which remained half ripe upon the trees. Consequently numbers of the hogs were starved to death.

Twelve miles after leaving Fitch's, the road enters the Grand Prairie. This immense sea of grass reaches from Lake Michigan nearly to the Ohio, and is about three hundred miles in

Pictures of Illinois

length. The breadth however is very irregular, being only twenty-four miles, where the Prairie is crossed by the St. Louis road. I do not know anything that struck me more forcibly than the sensation of solitude I experienced in crossing this, and some of the other large Prairies. I was perfectly alone, and could see nothing in any direction but sky and grass. Leaving the wood appeared like embarking alone upon the ocean, and, upon again approaching the wood, I felt as if returning to land. Sometimes again, when I perceived a small stunted solitary tree that had been planted by some fortuitous circumstance, I could hardly help supposing it to be the mast of a vessel. No doubt the great stillness added very much to this strange illusion. Not a living thing could I see or hear, except the occasional rising of some prairie fowls, or perhaps a large hawk or eagle wheeling about over my head. In the woods I have often observed this silence and solitude, but it struck me more forcibly in these boundless meadows.

In the middle of the Grand Prairie, a man of the name of Houston has fixed his habitation. When I was there his improvements were not finished, and he was particularly in want of a well, one he had dug before having fallen in. The house, which has only been built a year or two, is a great convenience to travellers; as before they were sometimes obliged to bivouac in the Prairie, which in winter is a very cold

William Newnham Blane

place to sleep in, and in summer swarms with horse-flies and mosquitoes.

These horse-flies, which are larger than a hornet, are so exceedingly troublesome, that I have been informed by those who have often crossed the Prairie in summer, that they have been frequently obliged to dismount, light a fire, and stand in the smoke of it for hours. Horses can with difficulty be induced to leave the smoke; for they have a great dread of the flies, which not only cover their bodies, but get up into their nostrils, and would, if the poor animals were left by themselves, soon torment them to death.

Once during the summer time, when I was near a marsh in the western part of the State of New York, I saw a horse literally covered with mosquitoes, which were swollen into the appearance of little transparent blood-vessels. When these were brushed off, their unfortunate victim bled almost at every pore. Were it not much too cruel an experiment, it would be curious to ascertain in how short a time they would kill a horse, which was tied so that he could not roll upon the ground.

In the Great Prairie, as in all the others, there are numbers of small grey-coloured wolves, called "prairie wolves," which are not taller than a pointer dog. They are exceedingly troublesome; killing sheep, pigs and fowls. The common black wolves are also very numerous in the Illinois; and this obliges the settlers

Pictures of Illinois

to shut up, every night the few sheep they have. There was a small patch of Indian corn just at Houston's door, into which several prairie wolves entered during the night, and kept up a continual barking. As soon as one begins to bark, another, as it were, answers; and it is quite curious to hear them all begin again at once, in every direction, when just before they were perfectly quiet.

The road to St. Louis, with the exception of an occasional tract of forest, passes through nothing but Prairie. It is customary with the Indians and Hunters to set fire to the long grass, for the purpose of compelling the game to take shelter in the woods, where they can more easily get at it. They do this in the autumn or winter, when the grass, which is often four or five feet in height, becomes dry. Now the last autumn had been very wet, and on that account the Prairies had not all been fired, so that when I passed through, the grass, in many of them, was still unburnt. I had often heard of the grand spectacle they present when on fire, and was fortunate enough to witness it. I was riding between Carlyle, a small village on the Kaskaskia River, and St. Louis, when I observed a very thick smoke issuing from a small belt of wood, on the edge of the Prairie, about two miles a-head of me, and just where the road entered the forest. The wind was blowing towards me very violently, and in a minute or two the flames dashed out of the

William Newnham Blane

wood into the long grass of the Prairie. That on the right hand of the road had been burnt before, and accordingly I rode a little off in that direction. The flames advanced very rapidly, continued to spread, and before they had arrived opposite to the place where I stood, formed a blaze of fire nearly a mile in length.

How shall I describe the sublime spectacle that then presented itself? I have seen the old Atlantic in his fury, a thunder storm in the Alps, and the cataracts of Niagara; but nothing could be compared to what I saw at this moment.

The line of flame rushed through the long grass with tremendous violence, and a noise like thunder; while over the fire there hovered a dense cloud of smoke. The wind, which even previously had been high, was increased by the blaze which it fanned; and with such vehemence did it drive along the flames, that large masses of them appeared actually to leap forward and dart into the grass, several yards in advance of the line. It passed me like a whirlwind, and with a fury I shall never forget.

The settlers on the edges of the Prairies sometimes experience great losses in consequence of these fires, which burn their fences, crops, ricks, etc.; accidents which would be much more frequent, were it not for the precautions that are taken to clear away the grass, for some distance round the fields and houses.

Travellers very often set fire to the grass,

Pictures of Illinois

for the sake of seeing the grand spectacle it presents when burning; but, if detected, are liable to a fine, and must pay for all the damage they may occasion.

Persons in wagons and on foot would sometimes, when crossing the Prairies, be destroyed, if, when they saw the fire advancing towards them, they were not to take the precaution of also setting fire to the grass, and retreating upon the burnt spot, which of course the original fire can never reach for want of fuel.

During the last war between Great Britain and the United States, a detachment of the American army passed near the upper end of the Grand Prairie, where the hostile Indians lay in ambush. When the troops had entered a small thick wood, the Indians set fire to the grass around it in several places, and it was with the greatest difficulty, and by also firing the grass, and retreating to the spot cleared, that the detachment escaped destruction.

I afterwards saw several Prairies on fire, but was not within two or three miles of them. They produce a beautiful effect during the night, the clouds immediately over them reflecting the light, and appearing almost on fire themselves. When, during a dark night, there are two or three of these meadows on fire at a time, the effect is of course very much heightened; and the whole heavens are then tinged with a deep and sullen red.

I have heard the Hunters, in the state of Mis-

William Newnham Blane

souri, describe the grand spectacle offered to their view, when the Indians, every autumn or winter, set fire to the large Prairies that extend almost to Mexico. Here the flames, having nothing to stop their fury, blaze on for many days and nights together, and are only checked at last, either by a heavy fall of rain, or by the blowing of the wind in an exactly contrary direction.

They who live near, or on the Prairies, do not consider these conflagrations prejudicial, except when some of their enclosures are damaged; for the fire, besides burning up the long dry grass, which would in some measure impede the growth of that of the following year, destroys myriads of noxious reptiles and insects, which deposit their eggs in the luxuriant vegetation, and which, but for this check, would become extremely numerous and troublesome.

I was always forcibly struck by the melancholy appearance of a burnt Prairie. As far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be seen but one uniform black surface, looking like a vast plain of charcoal. Here and there, by the roadside, were the bones of some horses or cattle, which had died in passing through, or the horns of some deer which had been killed. These, bleached by the alternate action of fire and rain, formed, by their extraordinary whiteness, a most remarkable contrast to the black burnt ground on which they lay.

Pictures of Illinois

In passing a small belt of wood near a water-course, I met the mail, that is to say, a man on horseback, who drove before him another horse, on which were fastened the leatheren bags containing the letters. These bags were very large, and being packed upon a high wooden saddle, made a curious appearance. When I first saw the horse coming round a turn in the road, I thought some animal was fixed upon its back. It is in this way that the mail is carried twice a week from Kentucky to Vincennes, and from Vincennes to St. Louis.

Eight miles before coming to the Mississippi I passed a sudden declivity, and found myself upon a large plain, extending to the river, and called the "American Bottom." It is probably the richest tract of land in the whole of the United States, and is about 250 miles in length, with a breadth of from two to seven miles.

The whole soil, composed of a deep black mould, has been deposited by the river, which has shifted its course to the foot of the high land, on which the town of St. Louis is situated.

This fertile district is rendered almost uninhabitable by its unhealthiness, and will require a great deal of draining before many persons will settle upon it.

In some of the more healthy spots near the high land, by which it is bordered, a few French people have settled, who, it is universally remarked, are by no means so liable to be attacked by fevers, as the English or Americans. This

William Newnham Blane

is attributed to their very different, and much more temperate, mode of living. Indeed I am persuaded, that there are no people on the face of the earth, who consume so much animal food as the Anglo-Americans; for at breakfast, dinner, and supper, hot meat is always eaten, even by the poorest class. During the winter, perhaps, this high living may not be unwholesome; but, even during the burning months of summer and autumn, they continue to eat the same immense quantity of meat and grease, which last article is a favorite in their cookery.

The fertility of the "American Bottom" is truly astonishing, and the stalks of Indian corn which I saw standing might have almost tended to remove one's doubts, as to the hight of Jack's wonderful Bean.

After crossing this fine tract of country, and passing through a very small belt of wood, I arrived to my great satisfaction upon the bank of the celebrated Mississippi, which at St. Louis is about one mile in breadth, with a very powerful and rapid current.

* * * * *

St. Louis is a small town, containing between two and three thousand inhabitants. It was founded by the French, at the time when Louisiana, of which the present state of the Missouri forms a part, belonged to that nation. It in-

⁴The portion we omit consists of a discussion of the geography of the Mississippi Valley.

Pictures of Illinois

creased in size very rapidly after it came into the hands of the Americans; and at one time was the great emporium of all the fur-trade with the Indians. But it has of late years declined both in prosperity and population, partly owing to the dreadful sickness, and partly to the rivalship of the villages which are springing up on the banks of the Missouri and upper Mississippi, and which now participate in the fur-trade with the Indians.

When I was there, it contained one thousand less inhabitants, than it did at the close of the last war between Great Britain and the United States.—There are still among its population many French, who continue to speak their old language, and in some degree keep up the manners of their native country.

Governor Clarke, the enterprising companion of Captain Lewis, has at St. Louis a small but well arranged Museum, which contains a great number of Indian curiosities, and which he very kindly opens to all strangers.

To show how soon literary knowledge spreads itself in America, I will here mention that several gentlemen of St. Louis and its vicinity, with whom I became acquainted, had not only read all the first Waverly novels, but even the last one, the Fortunes of Nigel, which had only been published a short time before I left England. One of the gentlemen informed me, that he received copies of these novels by mail, about two months after their publication in

William Newnham Blane

America, and probably within fourteen or sixteen weeks of their first appearance in England. He said, that this was also the case with most popular works. O'Meara's account of Napoleon, was read by almost every one; and as all the newspapers contained copious extracts from it, everybody could read with feelings of just indignation, the vexations imposed on the splendid despot, by his mean-spirited governor.

Part III
A Journey up the
Illinois River in 1821

A Journey up the Illinois River in 1821

[From Henry R. Schoolcraft: *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley.*]

AUGUST 5th. We entered the Illinois river at an early hour. The point of confluence is twenty-five miles above the junction of the Missouri. It presents to the eye a smooth and sluggish current, bordered on each side by an exuberant growth of aquatic plants, which, in some places, reach nearly across the channel. We soon found the water tepid and unpalatable, and oftentimes filled with decomposed vegetation to a degree that was quite offensive. There is perhaps no stream in America whose current offers so little resistance in the ascent. The west side of the river is that which has been appropriated by government as a part of the bounty lands for the late army. Both banks are bordered by a dense forest of cottonwood, sycamore, and other species common to the best western bottom-lands. Of the fertility of the soil, no person of the least observation can for a moment doubt; but at the same time, the insalubrity of the climate, particularly during the summer season, must be considered as presenting a formidable, impediment to its speedy settlement.

Pictures of Illinois

It was a source of delight to Dr. Johnson, in his journey to the Hebrides, to behold a full-grown tree; we have felt an equal degree of pleasure along this stream in finding a house: and the appearance of the inhabitants has corresponded with the opinion before expressed of the unhealthiness of the country. Pale and emaciated countenances; females shivering with ague, or burning with intermittent fever, unable to minister to their children; and sometimes, every member of a numerous family suffering from the prevalent malady at the same time, have been among the more common scenes which we have beheld along the lower parts of this otherwise attractive stream. A friend residing in that part of the country which is watered by the Sangamo, a district almost proverbial for its fertility, and which is fast rising into importance, writes:— “In this country, life is at least fifty per cent below par in the months of August and September. I have often thought that I ran as great a risk every season which I spend here as I would in an ordinary battle. I really believe it seldom happens that a greater proportion of an army falls victims to the sword during a campaign, than there has of the inhabitants of Illinois to disease, during a season that I have been here.” That time and cultivation will remove the causes of unhealthiness, is a prevalent opinion; that they will effect any visible melioration within a short period, is improbable.

Henry Howe Schoolcraft

August 6th. We left the plantation where we had encamped at a very early hour; and favoured by the sluggishness of the stream, ascended forty or forty-five miles. Most of this day's journey was very agreeable. The weather, though fair, was not hot, and the appearance of the country was often novel and striking in the disposition of the rocks and woods. We moved upon so calm and smooth a surface, that sometimes it became a subject of debate whether there was any apparent current. Our progress was less incommoded by aquatic grasses; and the exuberance of vegetation on shore, frequently had the finest effect, contrasted with prominent points of calcareous rocks. Not unfrequently, springs of clear water issue from these cliffs, which, as that of the river was absolutely bad, we were constantly on the alert to discover. We observed the influx of several small and unimportant streams. Settlements are "few and far between." The most conspicuous are those situated on Mauvaisterre creek, one of which is near the eligible and picturesque prairie of Mauvaisterre.

This airy site appears to have been a favourite spot for encamping, from the earliest period, and was taken notice of in the time of Charlevoix. A ridge of alluvial earth here forms a prominent shore, for some distance, and admits of a convenient landing. The quality of the soil, as the name denotes, is poor; but this term

Pictures of Illinois

is to be understood only in a comparative sense. In a country where the lands are so generally fertile, the slightest appearances of aridity are seized upon to mark a positive distinction. But in the case before us, though the soil appears to be sandy and pervious, we are told it produces excellent crops of Indian corn and potatoes.

We here met a trader's boat, on a return voyage from the settlements on the Sangamo. The population on that river, we were informed, has received very considerable accessions from the course of emigration, within the last few years. The lands are held in high estimation, and produce exceedingly without manure. The common price of corn, in the autumn, is twelve and a half cents per bushel. During a particular season, the crops in that settlement were injured by frost as early as the 20th of September. This, as it was an uncommon occurrence, produced an uncommon rise in the price of that article, which was sold at *twenty-five cents*. This low price of grain, in concurrence with the luxuriance of the native pasturage in the woods and prairies, renders it a district very favourable for grazing. But the want of a good market, constant in its demand, and convenient of access, appears, at present, to oppose the most serious obstacle to the prosperity of the farming and mercantile interest in this quarter. Should the contemplated canal at Chicago be constructed, we have little doubt

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

but the trade of this part of the state of Illinois will pass through that channel. The produce of the country is of a description that ought to find its way to a northern market; and that, too, without passing through a tropical climate. Cattle and hogs may be driven to Chicago, at the present moment, with nearly the same expence that they can to St. Louis, and if slaughtered and packed at the former place, would remain in better preservation than if carried out at the mouths of the Mississippi. Even in the present state of things, we are inclined to think, that the farmers and merchants of this part of Illinois are prepared to compete with those of Michigan and Ohio, in the supply of the Lake posts.

August 7th. Above Mauvaisterre the Illinois receives the Amequon, or Spoon river, and the Sangamo,—two of the largest tributaries which enter below the lake of Peoria. Spoon river drains a considerable portion of the military tract. The lands near its mouth, commencing a short distance below, and extending several miles above, are beautifully elevated. The Sangamo enters the Illinois by several channels. The point of confluence is one hundred and thirty miles above its mouth. The lands here are marshy and subject to periodical inundations.

Finding nothing to detain us along this part of the Illinois, we made all possible speed on our way, and at six o'clock in the evening

Pictures of Illinois

encamped on a moist shore, among noxious weeds—the lowness of the banks, and the wide margin of rushes, and broad-leaved water plants, rendering it difficult to approach the land, and after we had effected a landing, to find a spot sufficiently dry to spread our blankets on. This furnished an additional motive for abridging our stay as much as possible, and we embarked on the following morning, as soon as the dawning day permitted our canoeemen to descry the proper channel. This is a precaution that occasional visitors will do well to attend to, in ascending this stream as the number of false channels, or *lagunes*, is calculated to divert, and mislead him. Notwithstanding the wariness of our steersman on this point, we had not proceeded many miles, when we entered one of these lagunes, and did not perceive our error until we began to approach its termination. It was now necessary to turn about, and we spent two hours in retracing our way. Mistakes of this kind may be righted, but the time is irrecoverably lost. With all our exertions, we made but a poor day's journey—not more than thirty miles, by the most favourable computation, and we encamped at a late hour in the evening, on the eastern shore. The spot selected was an open elevation, checkered with a few scattered oaks, and would have well repaid the quietudes of the preceding night, had not the various insects which abound along these humid shores, annoyed us incess-

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

santly. Against this annoyance, the common mosquito bar, is not complete protection; for there are numerous hard-shelled insects, which will penetrate the foldings of a bed, and spread themselves over all parts of the covering, so that it is not uncommon on first awaking in the morning, to behold within very circumscribed limits, a collection of these insects that would delight an entomologist.

August 9th. About nine o'clock in the morning we came to a part of the river, which was covered for several hundred yards with a scum or froth of the most intense green color, and emitting a nauseous exhalation, that was almost insupportable. We were compelled to pass through it. The fine green color of this somewhat compacted scum, resembling that of verdigris, led us at the moment to conjecture, that it might derive this character from some mineral spring or vein, in the bed of the river, but we had reason afterward to reject this opinion. I directed one of the canoemen to collect a bottle of this mother miasmata, for preservation, but its fermenting nature baffled repeated attempts to keep it corked. We had daily seen instances of the powerful tendency of these waters to facilitate the decomposition of floating vegetation, but had never before observed any in so matured and complete a state of putrefaction. It might certainly justify an observer, less given to fiction than were the ancient poets, to people this stream with the Hydra.

Pictures of Illinois

While we were detained a few moments by this appearance, a deer was observed on shore, but we were not successful in the efforts made to kill him. This animal is still abundant in this very thinly settled part of the country, and may often be surprised along shore, early in the morning, and in the evening. From this, we proceeded upon a calm surface, where nature presented her usual aspects.

Towards noon the day became oppressively hot, and our men evinced unusual fatigue. About one o'clock we entered the fine lake of Peoria, and put ashore at Fort Clark.

This name, like that of some other places we have passed, where the military has given way to agricultural occupancy, is a *misnomer*. The fort, which formerly stood here, was erected by the American troops in 1813. It consisted of double rows of squared timber, filled in with stones and earth, and its outlines are thus preserved. It was abandoned near the close of the war, and soon after burned by the Indians⁵. The site of this work, being at the foot of the lake of Peoria, is uncommonly picturesque; and the lands, though somewhat arenaceous near the fort, are, in general, not less fertile than beautiful. Situated at a point

⁵The burning of Fort Clark by the Indians is said by Gurdon Hubbard to have occurred in the autumn of 1818. For his account of it see the *Lakeside Classics* for 1911 (*Autobiography of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard*), p. 48.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

which is nearly equidistant from the sources and the mouth of the Illinois, where the splendid prairies of the upper part unite with the heavy forests of the lower, and enjoying such an excellent communication with the Mississippi, a town at this place must, we should suppose, command considerable advantages. Indeed it is rather surprising, that the growth of the new village which has been located here since the abandonment of *La Ville de Maillet*, has not already attained a large size. The present settlers, like those of the ancient village, chiefly consist of Frenchmen, who have had a footing here ever since the days of La Salle. Forts Crève-coeur and St. Louis, which at once recall the enterprise and misfortunes of this intrepid discoverer, were situated on the borders of this lake, within a few miles of the present village of Peoria. The distance of this village from the mouth of the Illinois, by the shortest computation, is 180 miles, and by another 204 miles. Truth, probably lies in a mean.

The reading of books and looking at maps, make but a fugitive impression on the mind, compared to the ocular view and examination of a country. This does not arise, perhaps, so much from errors in the published descriptions, as from their stopping short of the desired point. To enumerate the advantages of a country, and not to state, at the same time, its disadvantages, is certainly inconsistent with

Pictures of Illinois

truth and impartiality. Besides our opinions and conclusions, the pleasure or disgust which we experience in visiting a new country, arises, in a great measure, from minute features, that are too often omitted in descriptions, or cannot be delineated on maps. These suggestions have been verified in the course of our journey up the Illinois;—we mean that part of it which lies below the lake of Peoria: a country that has hitherto been considered as the region of warmth and fertility, and this is, undoubtedly, in the main, a just character of it. But it cannot be received unmixed or unqualified. There are considerable portions which are low and swampy, and also some that are decidedly barren; and it should be recollected, that of those parts which possess an arable soil, there is always a portion that wants running brooks, and a portion which is deficient in forest timber. To this it must be added, that there are two months of the year when the inhabitants are exposed to fevers and agues, which render life irksome. We have thought these remarks proper to qualify our commendations of this favoured section of country, and to contribute our mite in checking the too sanguine spirit of precipitate emigration.

“Ah! little thought I of the blasting wind,
The thirst, or pinching hunger that I find!
Bethink thee, Hassan; where shall thirst assuage,
When fails this cruise, his unrelenting rage?
Soon shall this scrip its precious load resign;
Then what but tears and hunger shall be thine?”

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

But we wish, at the same time, to draw a line of distinction between the *lower* and the *upper* parts of this stream, the latter of which, we mean the country lying between Fort Clark and Chicago, presents to the eye so pleasing and beautiful a succession of forest and prairie, so handsomely diversified in its surface, and in general, so finely watered and so delightfully elevated, that scarcely anything need be stated in abatement of its superlative beauty and exuberant fertility.

Persons who explore the Illinois at different seasons and by different routes, may, however, form contradictory opinions respecting some of its peculiar features, and draw very different conclusions of its advantages and capabilities —so much depends on first *impressions*. We entered the mouth of the Illinois at the most sultry and sickly season of the year, when its waters were foul and unpalatable, when its inhabitants were prostrated with debilitating fevers, and when we were ourselves forced to yield to the prevailing malady. Conclusions, drawn under such circumstances, are, perhaps, less calculated to mislead, than those resulting from more auspicious combinations. But we should bear it in mind, that there can be no country without its disadvantages; and that a picture without shadows cannot be a just and faithful representation of nature.

The width of the Illinois, at its entrance into the Mississippi, is generally estimated to be

Pictures of Illinois

half a mile, but the mist which prevailed at the early hour at which we entered it, prevented our forming an opinion on this subject. Above that point, it is perhaps generally three hundred yards across, until we reach Peoria lake, where it has an irregular expansion, whose utmost width is comprehended within about two miles. During all this distance it admits of navigation, in the lowest stages of water, for vessels of fifty or sixty tons burden. The interruption to navigation from frost, is commonly less than four months. The water moves sluggishly, and, indeed, has more resemblance to a canal than to a stream. The current has been estimated to have a velocity of something like one mile per hour, but even this is questionable. Its greatest rise by freshets is about fifteen feet. At these times its banks are partially covered with water, from one to three or four miles back. Of the surface thus inundated, the lagunes only are permanent, if we except some inconsiderable portions, near the mouth of the Sangamo river, and below that point. The aquatic plants which are now so plenteous will probably diminish when the river comes to be frequently navigated by large vessels, and its banks yield to cultivation and improvement. For notwithstanding the disadvantages which we have mentioned, the lands must settle. They are too fertile to be long neglected with our increasing population; and besides, there are many sites whose local position and fine ele-

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

vation, must, we should suppose, exempt them from unhealthiness. The present settlements, we speak of those on the immediate banks of the river, are very thin, scarcely deserving the name. If the definition of Dr. Johnson be applied here, (and it is the only definition with which we are acquainted), that the characteristic feature of a house, is the having of one story over another, there is not, probably, a house on the banks of the Illinois. Of huts, or "dwellings with only one floor," there is a limited number. They are generally located near some spring, and the fields in cultivation are situated at such a distance back, as to be invisible from the river. This practice, which results from the fear of inundation, leaves the banks of the stream, with all their rank vegetation, a picturesque wildness.

The principal objects of culture, are Indian corn and potatoes. The inhabitants do not appear to be sensible of the advantages of gardens. Pasturage for cattle is spontaneous, and makes the articles beef and pork comparatively cheap. The woods, in many places, afford an abundance of wild honey. Thus the food of chief necessity is easily procured, and if to have plenty of victuals be to live well, certainly those inhabitants who have any degree of industry, need not complain; for there are probably few countries in the world where farmers obtain bread and butcher's meat with so little labour.

Pictures of Illinois

Of game and fish, we should judge, from a hasty visit, there is no scarcity, and some variety. The Virginia deer is common to the forests and prairies of this stream, in its entire length; and it is not uncommon on approaching a habitation, to see a haunch of venison suspended against the side of the house, or hanging upon a contiguous tree. We found the duck and mallard, black duck, teal, and brant, in great numbers upon all parts of this stream. It is also well stored with the cat and buffalo fish, and the gar, besides some other species, which are more esteemed. The first-mentioned species are not generally eaten in the summer months. But when taken among other fish, are sometime given as food to hogs, who are known to devour them. This latter observation, corresponds with another still more remarkable, that has been made at Michilimackinac, and at the Sault of St. Mary, where, during certain seasons of scarcity, the domestic cow has been known occasionally to feed upon fish, and even evinced a greediness in devouring them.

Among the lesser land animals and birds, which frequent the banks of the Illinois, the turkey, prairie hen, and hare, may be mentioned. The otter, muskrat, and racoon, are also still taken by the Indians, and contribute in a great measure to their support,—the skins being sold to the traders and the flesh taken as food. The beaver, which has so greatly dimin-

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

ished in all parts of America within a few years, is now rarely found in this stream, or its tributaries. We shall here mention a curious fact respecting the social habits of this animal, which is derived from a respectable source. On one of the lesser streams which are discharged into Hudson's Bay, a beaver family exists that has for many years enjoyed the protection of the Governor of that province, who pays the natives an annual stipend for sparing their lives. The circumstances which led to this curious arrangement are as follows:— The dam constructed by these animals contains sufficient water to float the canoes of the traders through a shallow and difficult part of the stream, which they could not otherwise navigate. This dam is broken down annually, and the beavers no sooner perceive the traders gone, than they commence repairing it. Habit has at length given this little community so much confidence, that although naturally very shy, they are now frequently seen during the day, and appear to evince an instinctive knowledge of the benefits they thus confer upon man;— and which exempt them from the exterminating war waged against the rest of their species.

We resumed our journey towards evening. The sun has now mitigated its fierceness. The lake was calm, the air soft, and nothing but the measured strokes of the paddles, accompanied with the ever cheerful chanting of our men, interrupted the tranquillity which pre-

Pictures of Illinois

vailed. Our way now lay through the beautiful lake of Peoria, whose clear surface reflected its sylvan banks with two-fold beauty. This sheet of water is merely an expansion of the river, about twenty miles long, and from half a mile to two miles in breadth. It appears to have been formed by the river's passing over a tabular surface of secondary rocks, and is not an uncommon feature in western streams. The Mississippi has several of these river-lakes, but we know of nothing analogous in the rivers east of the Alleghanies, unless Tappan be considered in this light.

The waters of this lake are beautifully clear, and as they are well stocked with fish, of the kinds before mentioned, they afford the natives a fine theater for exercising their skill in throwing the spear; an exercise, in which, standing on the gunwales of their canoes, they exhibit great dexterity, and show off their slender forms to much advantage. We witnessed this sport at several points in the lake, as we passed along, and we frequently saw the fish darting through the pellucid water beneath us. Towards the upper part of the lake, its shores are commonly lined with rushes, and we collected here a number of uniones, of a pretty large size.

As darkness approached, a mist began to rise upon the water, and we soon found ourselves enveloped by so dense a vapor, that it became impossible to discern the proper course. After being exposed on the lake for several hours, in

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

this state of uncertainty, we made the western shore, at a late hour at night. In consequence of this circumstance we remained in our camp on the following morning until seven o'clock. We were happy to perceive that our exertions of the preceding night had not been misdirected; and on going four or five miles, we passed out of the lake. The river maintains about the same width here which it has below, but its banks are less shaded with trees, and often covered exclusively with native grasses. This alternation of wood and plain, whose limits are often defined with surprising accuracy, imposes a very pleasing aspect upon the scenery, and not unfrequently makes the impression of a country that has once been in cultivation. Indeed, it requires nothing but the ruins of houses, roads, and fences to complete the illusion, and to transform these pastoral wilds into a deserted Tempé. Both sides of the river are alluvial, but, though rocky strata are not observable, the common appearance of loose sand in its bed, indicates the existence of a sandstone formation. The detached blocks of primitive formation, which are scattered over the surface of the soil, remain to attest physical changes, of which more has been written than proved. The mineralogy of the country is totally uninteresting. Of the many species which are enumerated in modern systems, there is scarcely one, either rare or useful, for which we can here name a locality. Horn-

Pictures of Illinois

stone, often in the form of arrow heads, and sometimes variegated in its colours, is common upon the prairies. Perhaps there are some varieties of this mineral, which those who are fond of multiplying distinctions would denominate jasper. A country that is exclusively alluvial, is, commonly, barren of minerals. Though gold and platina are found in the alluvial formations of Choco, and diamonds in those of Brazil, there are, we believe, neither gold nor diamonds here. Its wealth consists in the fertilizing properties of its soil, and it is still, perhaps, a problem in political economy, which remains to be solved, whether the treasures, which are acquired by the plough, are not more conducive to the happiness and prosperity of nations, than those which are extracted, with chymic arts, from the flinty interior of mica slates and granites.

We pursued our voyage without interruption from rapids, and without detention from settlements. There is not a white habitation between Fort Clark and Chicago, nor would the traveller be led to presume, from present appearances, that the French had built forts and erected chapels in this region of country more than a hundred years ago. It is not certain where Fort *Crève-coeur* stood, though it appears probable it was near the lower part of Peoria lake. But the knowledge that we are passing through scenes which were first made known by the enterprise of Joliet and La Salle, and which

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

long continued to be the theater where the zealous disciples of Loyola exerted their efforts to christianize the native tribes, and sacrificed their lives in this pious attempt, is a circumstance calculated to excite our regret for intrepidity which wrought no lasting good, and for missionary labour of which no trace remains. "To abstract the mind from all local emotion," says an eminent British tourist, "would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground that has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

The evening was fast approaching when we came to a Pottowattomie village, on the west shore. As it was usual on these occasions to display our ensign, a considerable bustle was manifest in their camp—men, women, and children, running to and fro, in a confused manner, and long before we reached shore, the collected population of the village was at the water's side to greet us on landing—

Pictures of Illinois

"And naked youths, and painted chiefs admire
Our speech, our colour, and our strange attire."

A few words gave them to understand, that we were on our way to attend the treaty at Chicago, and they informed us that they were on the point of starting for the same place. After the customary ceremonies and presents, we visited several of their lodges, and found none of them destitute of some articles of American or European manufacture, as kettles, knives, axes, etc. The men of this tribe are distinguished for their tall, erect, and manly stature, and we think it may be remarked, that beards are more common to them than to most of our northern tribes. We observed one aged person, in particular, whose long descending gray beard would not disgrace a Nazarite.

From this place, we went on about six miles, and encamped on a high prairie bank, where we spread our beds upon the ripe grass. On the following morning, we embarked at five o'clock, a heavy mist and cool air prevailing on the river. On going a few miles, we took a false channel leading into a pond, in extricating ourselves from which we spent an hour and a half. This is an occurrence which it requires unremitting attention to avoid. The mist was now dispelled, and we pursued our course under favour of a bright sky and transparent atmosphere. On either shore, we passed a succession of rural scenes, "ever pleasing, ever new." At two o'clock, we reached the mouth of the Ver-

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

million, a fine clear stream, entering on the left bank. This point is estimated to be equidistant between Chicago and Fort Clark, it being ninety miles either way. The rapids commence half a mile above, which makes it evident that the Illinois is greatly diminished in size above the junction of the Vermillion. The water at once becomes shallow, and the rock, which is a sandstone, presents itself first in broken masses, and soon after flooring the bed of the river. When our canoe would no longer float without rubbing against the rocks, we got out and made a short portage, the empty canoe being still guided along by men walking in the stream on each side. When we again embarked, we could, however, go but a very short distance. Another portage was necessary.

In short, we could no longer proceed in our water craft. Nothing but a series of rapids appeared above as far as we could explore. The water was scarcely eight or ten inches deep in any place, and often less than four. With great exertions, we had proceeded two or three miles above the Vermillion, and about 4 o'clock, we encamped near a remarkable isolated hill, called by French voyageurs LeRocher, and Rock Fort.

This is an elevated cliff on the left bank of the Illinois, consisting of parallel layers of white sandstone. It is not less than two hundred and fifty feet high, perpendicular on three sides, and washed at its base by the river. On the fourth

Pictures of Illinois

side it is connected with the adjacent range of hills by a narrow peninsular ledge, which can only be ascended by a precipitous, winding path. The summit of this rock is level and contains about three-fourths of an acre. It is covered with a soil of several feet in depth, bearing a growth of young trees. Strong and almost inaccessible by nature, this natural battlement has been still further fortified by the Indians, and many years ago was the scene of a desperate conflict between the Pottowatomies, and one band of the Illinois Indians. The latter fled to this place for refuge from the fury of their enemies. The post could not be carried by assault, and tradition says that the besiegers finally succeeded, after many repulses, by cutting off the supply of water. To procure this article the besieged let down vessels attached to ropes of bark, from a part of the precipice which overhangs the river, but their enemies succeeded in cutting off these ropes as often as they were let down. The consequence was a surrender, which was followed by a total extirpation of the band.

On gaining the top of this rock we found a regular entrenchment, corresponding to the edge of the precipice, and within this other excavations, which, from the thick growth of brush and trees, could not be satisfactorily examined. The labour of many hands was manifest, and a degree of industry which the Indians have not usually bestowed upon works

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

of defence. We found upon this elevation broken muscle shells, fragments of antique pottery, and stones which had been subjected to the action of heat resembling certain lavas.

From this elevated spot an extensive and diversified view of prairie scenery is presented, and the objects about our encampment appeared reduced to a diminutive size.

“How fearful
And dizzy ’tis, to cast one’s eye so low!
The crows and choughs, that wing the midway air
Show scarce so gross as beetles.”

The soil which results from the gradual disintegration of this rock, is nearly a pure sand. On descending we found the prickly pear (*cactus*) covering a considerable portion of this soil, where scarcely any other plant is hardy enough to vegetate.

Of the height of this cliff, the estimate which we have given is merely conjectural. The effect upon the observer is striking and imposing. But we are disposed to think the effect of loftiness produced by objects of this nature is not so much the result of the actual, as of the comparative height. We have often felt, as we have on the present occasion, an impression of grandeur produced by a solitary precipice two or three hundred feet high, rising abruptly above a flat alluvial country or lake, more striking and imposing than at other times in traversing a region more elevated, and where “Alps on

Pictures of Illinois

Alps arise." In the latter case, the eye constantly measures one elevation by another; in the former we have no standard of this kind, and hence undoubtedly overrate. Philosophically considered, the height of prominent points of a country is estimated above the level of the nearest sea. But the effect produced on the eye or the imagination begins to be felt only from that part of a mountain where it first makes a striking angle with the plain. Our view of this modern Oxus is taken from a position on the opposite side of the river, directly in front of the most precipitous face of the rock.

Finding the navigation so difficult, we determined to relinquish the design of proceeding any farther by water, and to await the arrival of horses from Chicago, which had been ordered to meet us near this place on the 10th. A man was sent by land to Reddick's Deposite. He returned at a seasonable hour on the following day, having found the horses in waiting. Having made the necessary arrangements for conveying our baggage by land, and leaving our canoemen in charge, we mounted our horses at ten o'clock in the morning, and pursued the journey with renovated spirits. It was our good fortune to be guided by a chief of the Potowattomies of the Plains, perfectly acquainted with the route, who had passed it times innumerable, who knew every choice spot for encamping, and to whom we could safely confide these

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

arrangements. In passing through this once populous country, Peerish, our trusty guide, pointed out to us the ancient sites of several Indian villages, one of which was situated on the top of a romantic tabular elevation called the Buffalo Rock, and another, located on the plain, had been completely encompassed by a ditch and wall, the remains of which are still conspicuous, and the whole extent of the lines is easily traced. This, he informed us, was the last stand made by the Kaskaskias before they retreated to the Rock Fort. These curious landmarks are calculated to recall an epoch in the history of the Indian tribes, when they were powerful in point of numbers,—when the bow and arrow were adequate to their subsistence, and when they cherished with pride the rude arts, the customs, and the simple manners of their forefathers, undismayed by the superior attainments of Europeans, and uncontaminated by the evils resulting from the introduction of ardent spirits and other civilized vices; an epoch which affords a very melancholy contrast with their present enfeebled and depopulated condition. Nothing strikes the observer, in riding over these plains, with more force than the paucity of the present Indian population, where the old missionaries represent them to have existed in “hordes innumerable.” And we have been sometimes tempted to conclude that these zealous fathers, influenced by secular considerations, may have been induced to

Pictures of Illinois

exaggerate the numbers, or have taken little pains to be satisfied of the truth: "To count," says the author of the Rambler, is a modern practice, the ancient method was to guess; and where numbers are guessed they are always magnified." To increase the importance of the labour, by multiplying its objects, is not a practice peculiar to the era we have mentioned.

We dismounted from our horses a few moments near the mouth of Fox River, at a spot denominated La Charbonniere. Coal, of the slaty variety, is found at this place, in thin layers, alternating with shale. This formation crops out on a sloping bank, where both the coal and the shale have partially yielded to disintegration, producing a kind of soil of a peculiar aspect. Want of time precluded our entering into much examination. We were informed that these appearances characterize a considerable district of country, situated in the angle formed by the junction of the Fox River with the Illinois. These appearances, taken in connection with the nature of the country, which belongs wholly to the secondary formation, make it quite probable that extensive and valuable beds of this mineral will be opened here. And it is an article which, in a country so thinly wooded, or rather so frequently destitute of wood, must hereafter prove a source of incalculable benefit.

From this spot, we rode farther and later than we otherwise should, with a view to reach

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

the uncommonly beautiful place of encampment
selected by our Indian guide—

*"To arched walks of twilight groves,
And shadows brown, that Sylvan loves."*

13th. To avoid as much as possible, the great heats of noon, we left our camp at a very early hour. Our track lay over the same pleasing succession of prairies and groves, which have characterized the whole country from Peoria lake. We are no longer surprised at the extravagant praises bestowed upon the picturesque and pastoral features of this country, by Tonti and other early writers; though what is so lavishly said by the same class of writers respecting the positive advantages of the country in a statistical point of view, is to be received with proper abatements. We must allow something for the national warmth of expression of the French, and deduct a little for inaccuracy or carelessness of observation. To their enchanted eyes, every grove was a paradise animated with birds of the most rare and beautiful plumage, and every prairie a garden filled with the most odoriferous flowers. The forest abounded with delicious nuts and fruits, the rivers with fish, and every part of the country was filled with deer, elk, and buffalo. This was all measurably true, and they could add, with perfect consistency, that in every native they met a friend. Such an aspect of things, must naturally have inspired them

Pictures of Illinois

with sentiments of delight, while their enterprise was praised, their commerce flourished, and their missionaries triumphed.

We do not think they drew a faithful picture of the country; we mean of its more important features, but we think they seldom erred less. We consider the soil excellent, the lands finely diversified, handsomely elevated, and well-watered; and bating the general deficiency of forest timber, we think his taste must be fastidious who could not select a residence to please both his fancy and his judgment. To the emigrant who goes westward, in the expectation of finding a terrestrial paradise, or a new El Dorado, which, if it does not abound in gold and diamonds, will, at least, produce wealth without economy or industry, and render men happy without submitting to the irksome restraints of law or religion; neither the country we are considering, nor any other part of Western America, that we have seen, will afford the wished-for boon. To his imagination the *west* is a definite portion of country, but like the north, there is a total want of agreement respecting its position.

"Ask where's the North? at York, 'tis on the Tweed;
In Scotland at the Orcades; and there,
At Greenland, Zembla and the Lord knows where."

At nine o'clock in the morning, we came to a part of the country which is contiguous to the Des Plaines and the Kankakee, two considerable streams, which, by their junction, form

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

the Illinois. Here our party halted, to allow an opportunity of examining an object that had been described to us in a manner calculated to excite our curiosity⁶.

We now took up our journey across the plains. The day had become sultry, and we suffered much from the combined effects of heat and thirst. We had on no part of the route, found the proportion of forest so limited. Fields of prairie frequently spread before the eye, like the boundless expanse of the ocean, and the vision is as soon limited. The eye passes over this unvaried surface, often "glancing from earth to heaven," without finding any prominent object to fix upon. Its apparent boundary is the horizon. This monotony of prospect would soon become tiresome, were it not occasionally relieved by small streams of clear water, by limited forests of timber, and by gentle elevations in the surface, which serve to stimulate attention. The slightest changes in the features of the country, or in the complexion of the soil, under such circumstances, become interesting;—and the transitions from arenaceous to loamy—from dry to humid soil, and from black carbonaceous mould to loose pebble stones, as they appear in the deep-cut horse path, are sources of gratification, in a country whose prominent asperities are all deeply buried beneath alluvial plains.

⁶Here follows a long description of a petrified tree, which we omit to copy.

Pictures of Illinois

The sudden starting of a prairie-hen, or “whirring pheasant” from the heath, or the bounding of a deer on the distant plain, are circumstances which the memory seizes upon, in the common dearth of local interest. So vigorous a growth of grasses and flowering plants, covers these plains, that in several places we found them to overtop our shoulders, sitting on horseback;—a proof if any were wanting, of the strength and richness of the soil.

The field still open for the expansion of our population is certainly very ample, without seeking farther to curtail the hunting grounds of the Indians west of the Mississippi. But we apprehend something like a reversal of the usual consequences of new settlements, will be witnessed here. It has been observed, that the first effects of the plentitude of inhabitants is the destruction of wood; but the culture and creation of forests will here demand the earliest attention. It appears very evident, that these grassy plains were formerly covered with forests of timber. There is no country in the world better adapted to their growth. Whether these ancient forests were burned down by fire, as some have supposed, or destroyed by water, as others maintain, may be an interesting topic for discussion to the geologist:—But the farmer and planter are chiefly concerned in the restoration of the stock and the promotion of its growth.

We entered the strip of woods which forms

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

a margin to the river Au Saubles, during the most intense heat of the day, and enjoyed its refreshing shade for a few moments. Ten miles beyond this pellucid little river, we halted, and dismounted in the plains, and made a short excursion on foot to Mount Joliet.

Any prominent swell in the surface of the soil, would appear interesting and remarkable in so flat a country, but this would be considered a very striking object of curiosity, in a region of inequalities. It is, strictly speaking, neither a mountain nor a hill, but rather a mound, and the first impression made by its regular and well preserved outlines, is that of a work of art. This alluvial structure is seated on the plains, about six hundred yards west of the present channel of the river Des Plaines, but immediately upon, what appears to have been, the former bank of this river. Its figure, as seen at a distance, is that of a cone truncated by a plain parallel to the base, but we find on approaching, its base describes an ellipsis. Its height we computed to be sixty feet. Its length about four hundred and fifty yards, and its width seventy-five yards. The top is perfectly level. The sides have a gradual and regular slope, but the acclivity is so great that we found the ascent laborious. There are a few shrubby oak trees on the western side, but every other part, like the plain in which it stands, is covered with grass. The materials of this extraordinary mound are, to all appear-

Pictures of Illinois

ances, wholly alluvial, and not to be distinguished from those of the contiguous country, from which it would appear, they have been scooped out. It is firmly seated on a horizontal stratum of secondary limestone. The view from this eminence is charming and diversified. The forests are sufficiently near to serve as a relief to the prairies. Clumps of oaks are scattered over the country. The lake Joliet, fifteen miles long, and about a quarter of a mile wide, lies in front. There is not perhaps a more noble and picturesque spot for a private mansion in all America. Few persons will choose to pass it, without devoting an hour to its examination, and few will perhaps leave it, without feeling a conviction that it is the work of human hands. It has been remarked by Dr. Beck, that this is probably the largest mound within the limits of the United States.

We continued our way, not dissatisfied with the loss of time occasioned by the examination of this object, and encamped at a late hour in the evening, on an open elevated piece of ground. Elevated situations for encampment are desirable at this season, to avoid the insects, which are very numerous, wherever there are trees or depressions in the surface to shelter them. A slight shower of rain fell while we were in the act of encamping. The atmosphere soon resumed its serenity; and we sunk to sleep amid the mingled recollections of a long and fatiguing day's journey.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

14th. About ten o'clock in the morning, we reached the ford of the Des Plaines. We found the river about thirty yards wide, and the depth of water two feet. Beyond this place and the Vermillion, where we left the Illinois, we have seen the river but seldom, although our route has been for the greater part upon its banks. We have however seen its channel, at a sufficient number of points, to determine that it has several long and formidable rapids, which completely intercept the navigation at this sultry season:—a remark that has been confirmed by meeting several traders on the plains, who had transported their goods and boats in carts from Chicago creek, and who informed us, that they thought it practicable to enter the Illinois at Mount Joliet. This would lengthen the portage to about thirty miles, but it has been perceived that we ourselves began it, far below this last mentioned point. This fact is sufficient to show the error of those who have supposed, that a canal of only eight or ten miles would be necessary, to perfect the navigation between lake Michigan and the Illinois. A canal of this length would indeed perfect the communication, which already exists at certain seasons, between Chicago creek and the Des Plaines, but must fall far short of the grand purpose.

But although our journey has produced a conviction, that the difficulty and expense which will attend this work are greatly underrated; it

Pictures of Illinois

has also impressed us with a more exalted opinion of this projected communication, and the ability of the country through which it must pass, eventually to complete and maintain it. If the present scanty population and feeble means of this part of Illinois, has convinced us that the commencement and completion of this important work, are more remote than we before supposed, its final execution is not the less certain, and we regard the plan as one entitled to every rational and proper aid. There are few portions of the western country, where the progress of settlement is more certain, or which will admit of a more dense population; and the first efforts of such a community if enlightened and enterprising, will be to place themselves on an equality with other states, by opening the way to a northern market.

We are indebted to a gentleman of correct observation, who has explored the route with particular reference to the subject of a canal, for the following information respecting those parts of the bed of the Illinois and Des Plaines, which we have not personally examined. The computed distance from the ford on the Des Plaines, to its union with the Kankakee, is about forty-five miles. Fifteen miles of this distance consists of lake Joliet, and the remainder is almost equally divided between ripples and still-waters. The next obstruction occurs at the Kickapoo rapids, which have a fall of perhaps

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

six feet, in the distance of a mile and a quarter. But these yield in importance to the Rock Fort rapids, which are commonly computed to be twenty-four miles long. The total fall of the river in this distance cannot be less than thirty-five or forty feet. The Illinois, in passing these rapids, is spread over a wide surface, which reduces the depth to a few inches, and hence it has been suggested, that by cutting a channel in the rock so as to concentrate the volume, a good and sufficient navigation would be afforded for boats of eight or ten tons burden. By a similar labour, the whole series of rapids could be improved, and at perhaps a comparatively small expense. But it may be questioned, whether this species of succedaneous canalling is calculated to answer a valuable purpose. We believe experience has proved it cheaper in the end, to open an entire new channel, than to improve the natural bed of a shallow and rapid stream, or one that is subject to great and sudden fluctuations from vernal or autumnal freshets. This appears to be the proper construction applicable to that noble idea of the celebrated Brindley, "that streams were only made to feed canals"—a principle which, so far as we are capable of judging, appears to be adopted by modern engineers, and has been pretty rigidly applied in the instance of the Erie canal.

There is another point of inquiry connected with this canal, which appears to have been

Pictures of Illinois

too generally overlooked, but which may perhaps oppose serious difficulties to the work. We allude to the formation of a harbour on lake Michigan, where vessels may lie in safety while they are discharging the commodities destined for the Illinois, or encountering the delays which commerce frequently imposes. It is well known, that after passing the Manitou Islands, there is no harbour or shelter for vessels in the southern part of lake Michigan; and that every vessel which passes into that lake after the month of September, runs an imminent hazard of shipwreck. Vessels bound to Chicago come to anchor upon a gravelly bottom in the lake, and discharging with all possible speed, hasten on their return. The sand which is driven up into the mouth of Chicago creek, will admit boats only to pass over the bar, though the water is deep enough to allow vessels to lie above. Among the expedients which have been proposed for keeping the mouth of this creek clear of sand, one of the most ingenious, and perhaps practicable, is that of turning the Konomic (Calumet), by a canal of sixteen miles, into the Chicago, above the fort, and by the increased body and pressure of water to drive out the accumulated sands.

It is yet somewhat problematical, whether a safe and permanent harbour can be constructed by any effort of human ingenuity, upon the bleak and naked shores of these lakes, exposed as they are to the most furious tempests. And

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

we are inclined to think it would be feasible to construct an artificial island off the mouth of Chicago creek, which might be connected by a bridge with the main land, with more permanent benefit to the country at large, if not with less expense, than to keep the Chicago clear of sand. Stone for such a work is abundant near the entrance into Green Bay, and if built on a scale sufficiently liberal, it would afford convenient sites for all the store-houses required.

But we must return to the narration of our journey, which here draws to a close. On crossing the Des Plaines, we found the opposite shore thronged with Indians, whose loud and obtrusive salutations caused us to make a few minutes' halt. From this point, we were scarcely ever out of sight of straggling parties all proceeding to the same place. Most commonly they were mounted on horses, and apparelled in their best manner, and decorated with medals, silver bands, and feathers. The gaudy and showy dresses of these troops of Indians, with the jingling caused by the striking of their ornaments, and their spirited manner of riding, created a scene as novel as it was interesting. Proceeding from all parts of a very extensive circle of country, like rays converging to a focus, the nearer we approached, the more compact and concentrated the body became, and we found our cavalcade rapidly augmented, and consequently the dust, confusion, and noise increased at every by-path

Pictures of Illinois

which intersected our way. After crossing the south fork of the Chicago, and emerging from the forest that skirts it, nearly the whole number of those who had preceded us appeared on the extensive and level plain that stretches along the shore of the lake, while the refreshing and noble spectacle of the lake itself, with "vast and sullen swell" appeared beyond. We found, on reaching the post, that between two and three thousand Indians were assembled—chiefly Pottowattomies, Ottowas, and Chippewas. Many arrived on the two following days. Provisions were daily issued by the Indian Department, during the treaty, to about three thousand.

To accommodate the large assemblage mentioned in the preceding chapter, an open bower, provided with seats for the principal chiefs and head men, had been put up on the green, extending along the north bank of Chicago creek. This site, being at some distance from the principal encampments, and directly under the command of the guns of the fort, ensured both safety and order for the occasion. The formalities which custom has prescribed in negotiations of this kind occupied the first two or three days after our arrival, during which time the number of Indians was constantly augmenting. It was not until the 17th that they were formally met in council, when Governor Cass,

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

on behalf of the commissioners, stated to them the following proposition:

Your Father has observed that you possess an extensive country about the river St. Joseph, which you do not cultivate nor appear to want.

He has directed us to come here for the purpose of making a purchase of a part of that land, and to pay you a liberal price for it, which we shall agree upon.

The quantity of game you now kill, in that part of the country, is very little—almost nothing; and we can give you for it what will be more valuable and serviceable to yourselves.

We have brought with us a large amount of goods, to be distributed among you; and we shall also stipulate to pay a certain sum of money annually.

It was agreed, by the treaty of St. Mary's, to pay you an annuity of one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, and by the treaty of——one thousand dollars;—both of which sums of money are now here, and ready to be paid to you.

Should we conclude an agreement for the purchase of the lands at St. Joseph, we feel willing that such reservations should be made as may be proper.

It will probably be many years before the country will be settled by the Americans, and during all that time you will retain possession of the lands, at the same time that you are drawing annuities for them.

Pictures of Illinois

We have no instructions from your great Father to purchase the lands on this side (west) of the lake.

You can take time to consider the proposition we have now made. Counsel among yourselves, and deliver us your answer as soon as you can agree. Above all, let me entreat you to refrain from whiskey during the treaty, that you may be able to see justice done to yourselves.

It is expected you will have sufficient time to deliberate by the day after to-morrow, when we shall expect your answer in this place. This will give you plenty of time to consult, and determine what is best for your interest.

Each sentence, being distinctly translated, was received with the usual response of Hoah!—a term that, on these public occasions, is merely indicative of attention.¹ A short pause ensued, during which some customary presents were issued, when Me-te-a, a Pottowattomie chief from the Wabash, made the following laconic reply:

My Father,—We have listened to what you have said. We shall now retire to our camps

¹ This interjection, when strongly emphasised, and the response is made by many voices, denotes also approbation;—and may then be considered as equivalent to the expression “hear him.” Respect to the speaker demands that it should be uttered at the conclusion of every sentence in public councils; but it is easy for a spectator to perceive, by the manner of enunciation, whether the matter spoken excites pleasure, indifference, or disapprobation.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

and consult upon it. You will hear nothing more from us at present.

It might be inferred from the attention with which the proposition was received, that they were not averse to it, though the cautious reply we have quoted furnished nothing from which an opinion, either favourable or unfavourable, could be drawn. This led us to expect their formal reply of the 19th with increased interest. It was delivered by the same person who had spoken before, and as this speech evinces a cast of retrospection which is not usual, and a hesitancy between following the policy of selling their lands adopted by their forefathers, or stopping short;—together with a boldness of sentiment, tempered by a fear to offend, and finally, by a negative to the proposition, which was afterward reversed, we shall present it entire.

My Father,—We meet you here to-day, because we had promised it, to tell you our minds, and what we have agreed upon among ourselves. You will listen to us with a good mind, and believe what we say.

My Father,—You know that we first came to this country, a long time ago, and when we sat ourselves down upon it, we met with a great many hardships and difficulties. Our country was then very large, but it has dwindled away to a small spot; and you wish to purchase that! This has caused us to reflect much upon what you have told us, and we have, therefore,

Pictures of Illinois

brought along all the chiefs and warriors, and the young men and women and children of our tribe, that one part may not do what the others object to, and that all may be witnesses of what is going forward.

My Father,— You know your children. Since you first came among them, they have listened to your words with an attentive ear; and have always hearkened to your counsels. Whenever you have had a proposal to make to us— whenever you have had a favour to ask of us, we have always lent a favourable ear, and our invariable answer has been “Yes.” This you know!

My Father,— A long time has passed since we first came upon our lands; and our people have all sunk into their graves. They had sense. We are all young and foolish, and do not wish to do any thing that they would not approve, were they living. We are fearful we shall offend their spirits if we sell our lands; and we are fearful we shall offend you, if we do *not* sell them. This has caused us great perplexity of thought, because we have counselled among ourselves, and do not know how we can part with the land.

My Father,— Our country was given to us by the Great Spirit, who gave it to us to hunt upon, and to make our corn-fields upon, to live upon, and to make down our beds upon, when we die. And he would never forgive us, should we now bargain it away. When you first spoke

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

to us for lands at St. Mary's,² we said we had a little, and agreed to sell you a piece of it; but we told you we could spare no more. Now, you ask us again. You are never satisfied!

My Father,—We have sold you a great tract of land, already; but it is not enough! We sold it to you for the benefit of your children, to farm and to live upon. We have now but little left. We shall want it all for ourselves. We know not how long we may live, and we wish to leave some lands for our children to hunt upon. You are gradually taking away our hunting grounds. Your children are driving us before them. We are growing uneasy. What lands you have, you may retain for ever; but we shall sell no more.

My Father,—You think, perhaps, that I speak in passion; but my heart is good towards you. I speak like one of your own children. I am an Indian, a red-skin, and live by hunting and fishing, but my country is already too small; and I do not know how to bring up my children, if I give it all away. We sold you a fine tract of land at St. Mary's. We said to you then, it was enough to satisfy your children, and the last we should sell; and we thought it would be the last you would ask for.

My Father,—We have now told you what we had to say. It is what was determined on, in council among ourselves; and what I have spoken is the voice of my nation. On this

²Ohio.

Pictures of Illinois

account, all our people have come here to listen to me; but do not think we have a bad opinion of you. Where should we get a bad opinion of you? We speak to you with a good heart, and the feelings of a friend.

My Father,—You are acquainted with this piece of land—the country we live in. Shall we give it up? Take notice it is a small piece of land, and if we give it away, what will become of us? The Great Spirit, who has provided it for our use, allows us to keep it, to bring up our young men and support our families. We should incur his anger, if we bartered it away. If we had more land, you should get more, but our land has been wasting away ever since the white people became our neighbours, and we have now hardly enough left to cover the bones of our tribe.

My Father,—You are in the midst of your red children. What is due to us, in money, we wish, and will receive at this place; and we want nothing more.

My Father,—We all shake hands with you.³ Behold our warriors, our women, and children. Take pity on us, and on our words.⁴

³This, it will be perceived, is a figurative expression, much used.

⁴I wish it to be distinctly understood, that in my reports of these speeches, I have adhered literally to the spirit and form of expression of the interpreters, and have seldom ventured to change the particular phraseology. This will be apparent on perusal, and

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

To place the argument, respecting the present limits of the Pottowattomie territory in a proper light, and prevent erroneous impressions, Gov. Cass thought proper to enter into some detail of observation.

When I look around I see very few Potowattomies; and their tents are thinly scattered over a very great extent of country—great part of which they cannot occupy, and do not want. Their country on the south extends along both banks of the Illinois, including all its rich tributaries. On the north, it reaches along the western shores of Lake Michigan to the Monomonies of Millewacky, and to the Winnebagoes of Green Bay. On the east, they have all the country beyond the St. Joseph to the head waters of the Maumee and the Wabash; and towards the west, their territories extend to the Foxes and Sacs on the Mississippi. They also still occupy the tracts sold by the treaties of St. Mary's and St. Louis, and will long retain possession of the country now proposed to be purchased. With such an ample territory, I am surprised they should utter one word about the smallness of their country.

will account for the familiar cast of many of the sentences. Authenticity was deemed a paramount object, and to the attainment of this I have sacrificed all attempt at ornament or embellishment. By this course, undoubtedly, great injustice is done to the spirit and force of the original; but it must be recollectcd, that it is not the original, but the verbal interpretation that I have undertaken to preserve.

Pictures of Illinois

In looking over all this extensive tract, their corn-fields bear no greater proportion to the whole quantity of arable land, than two or three flies upon the surface of this table. As to game, there is very little in the country. It is nearly gone, and they cannot rely upon it for a subsistence.

When I cast my eyes upon the Pottowatomies seated around me, and see many of their warriors and women badly clothed, their young men ragged and their children naked, it appears to me they stand very much in need of something from their Great Father. The presents we have brought along, and the annuities which they would receive, will be vastly more important than any game they can procure upon the lands.

When their wise men take this into consideration—when they talk it deliberately over, and see where their reservations are to be;—when they consider the money they are to receive, and the goods that await their acceptance, and how much superior these things will be to the uncertainties of the chase, I am certain that they must accede to our proposals.

In allusion to their growing uneasiness on the increasing power of their Anglo-American neighbours, it was remarked:—We are not sent here by our Great Father to do you injury or injustice:—it is his wish to protect, not to injure you. He has observed the impoverished and naked state of your people, and he seeks

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

to promote their welfare, by exchanging a large amount of money and goods for a part of those lands which you do not want. It will be a number of years before the Americans settle upon the country, and in the mean time you will retain possession of it, and enjoy the same advantages of hunting and fishing you now do. This your old men know! They are wise, and understand the interests and the wants of their people. They know that they have a very large territory, and that there is little game left upon it, so that they are obliged to go into distant countries, during a part of the year, to find a support.

They were complimented on the manner in which they had delivered their sentiments.

There is one thing in which you have behaved like men of sense—in putting forth one of your wise men to speak for you. He has spoken like an American. This gives us pleasure. We admire the independence he has manifested. In all your business with us you should be careful always to select your wise men to speak, and to transact your affairs. By this means you will always have justice done. Your Great Father does not send us here to be answered *by boys*.⁵

I see around me a great many wise men, and old men, who are capable of conducting this business; and I do not doubt when they

⁵This was intended as a reproof to a young chief, who had spoken rather impudently the preceding day.

Pictures of Illinois

shall counsel with you on the subject, they will point out the advantages of our proposal—for you all stand greatly in need of the fine cloths and blankets and other necessaries which your Great Father has put into our hands to present to you.

They were dismissed with the following sentence:

You can now retire to your camps. Meet together—counsel among yourselves—see where your reservations are to be and what money you are to receive:—Talk it over deliberately—make the best bargain you can, and meet us here to-morrow, when we will settle the boundary lines.

On the 22d the Indians assembled at 11 o'clock in the morning, and sent a person to inform the commissioners that they were ready with their final answer. As the proceedings of this day evince some diplomatic manoeuvring on the part of the Indians, and bring into discussion some important traits of their character and customs, we shall present more copious extracts from our minutes than would perhaps otherwise be necessary. The first person who arose to speak, on this occasion, was Topinabee, principal chief of the Pottowattomie nation,—a man equally venerable for his age and standing. He addressed his own people:—

My young men, warriors, and village chiefs,—it is to you I speak! You are met here in council before our Father, who spoke to us

Henry Howe Schoolcraft

the other day about our lands. You will listen to my words.

We have talked and counselled together—what it is proper for us to do. What has passed between us you all know! I ask you now to listen to me, while I explain it to our Father, and when I have taken my seat, listen to the other chiefs who may speak.

He then turned to the commissioners—

My Father,—Your children have listened to your words at the last council—you will now listen to them. I have always listened to you in my heart: I have never been missing when you had a proposal to make to my people.

My Father,—Behold our chiefs and warriors—the pride of our nation before you! Have they ever disobeyed your call? No! Their ears have always been open, and their answer has been “Yes,” whenever you have had anything to request of them. But our people have fallen away, and we have no wise men left. Now we do not know what to do. We have found it hard to come to a determination. We are averse to selling any more of our lands.

My Father,—We do not know what to think of the American people! They are always in want of lands. They can never get enough! We hardly know what you mean, or with what words to answer you.

My Father,—When you promise your children any thing, we say in our hearts, this man

Pictures of Illinois

speaks the truth. When you speak to us, we expect nothing else from you. You have called us to this treaty—we have met you in other treaties. We have relied upon your words; but it seems you have forgot some promises heretofore made to us.

To his people—

Our Father thinks, perhaps, that we have fallen asleep!—that we have forgotten what was promised us; but we never forget a promise.

Then resuming his speech—

My Father,—I am a red-skin. I do not know how to read or write, but I never forget what is promised me. We sold you a tract of land at St. Mary's—we sold it cheap. But we have not received all the money that is due. This is what our people say. You there told us also, My children, it is the last time I speak to you for lands.

As soon as this chief had taken his seat, Metea⁶ arose:

⁶ This chief was wounded in the attack on Fort Wayne, during the late war, in consequence of which he is an invalid, and now, as is said, draws a pension from the British government. He has probably passed the age of forty:—he has a sullen dignity of manner, and evinces perhaps generally, a great confidence in his own powers. His personal appearance is rather repulsive and unpleasant, owing in some measure to a wounded and withered arm, and a visible scar upon his nostril. In stature he is nearly six feet;—his eyes are small, black, and brilliant, and the distance between them is perhaps less than com-

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

My Father,—I am an Indian—the same in looks that you found my forefathers, when you first came into our country. I live upon the same soil they lived upon,—I live the same kind of life—share the same hardships, and at last shall lie down with them. They had nothing to leave us, but their lands. Shall we now sell them?

My Father,—You have seen all our lands—you have just returned from a journey to look at them. When you first came to walk upon them, they must have appeared pleasant to your eyes. My Father, you see a great way ahead!

My Father,—When you first came among us, we listened to you with a willing ear. You mon:—his nose is well shaped, somewhat aquiline:—the lines of his lips are sharp and well defined, evincing rather the orator than warrior. In his dress, he was uniform during the treaty, and exhibited few peculiarities. He wore a red military plume upon his head, fastened not ungracefully to his hair. In speaking he always stood erect and firm, making use of his right hand, to give force or meaning to those expressions requiring it. His sentences have a measured flow; and he appears to have a ready command of language. His voice is not unpleasant, nor can his manner be considered as vehement, comparatively speaking. It is rather in his sentiments, than in his action and manner, that he is bold, fearless, and original. In fine, he is by far the best speaker in his nation, and this reputation he enjoys by common consent. If nothing more than his speeches, deportment, and influence upon the present occasion could be adduced, these would be sufficient to prove his intellectual gifts, quite above the common order of his countrymen.

Pictures of Illinois

talked to us about our lands, which were given to us by the Great Spirit; and our old chiefs, who are now dead and gone, hearkened to your words, and gave you the land. When these men sold you the land,⁷ you said that their condition would be bettered — that the money and presents would be more useful than the land — that we should no longer go naked, but be comfortably clothed. It was a pleasing prospect; but now look around you, and see, we are still naked!

My Father,— Heretofore when our chiefs sold you land, it was with the consent of the whole nation. Many of those chiefs are now dead — a few are still remaining: but they were careful to inform us of the terms of their treaties. They said you told us, that our women and children should be dressed like white people, and that we should live a more easy life, on account of the money we were to receive. This is what we have to say. Our country is now narrowed to a small spot. We have listened to you until it is nearly gone. Our footsteps have passed off it. And behold our people. They stand before you, and are naked!

My Father,— You have made several promises to your children, and you have put the money down upon the table; but as fast as you have put it upon the top, it has slipped away to

⁷The pronoun in many of these cases does not refer to the commissioners personally, but to the American government and people.

Henry Howe Schoolcraft

the bottom, in a manner that is incomprehensible to us. We do not know what becomes of it. When we get together and divide it among ourselves, it is nothing; and we remain as poor as ever.

My Father,—I only explain to you the words of my brethren. We can only see what is before our eyes, and are unable to comprehend all things. You see that newspaper on the table before you. It is double. You can see what is upon the upper sheet, but cannot see what is below. We cannot tell how our money goes!

My Father,—We met you in council at St. Mary's, with a good heart and gentle words. You there made us some promises. You did not give us enough for our lands. We told you so. And you said that you would give us more; but we have seen nothing of it. At that treaty, you said you would give us two thousand five hundred dollars; but we did not find it enough. We asked you to add one thousand dollars. You said, yes; but we have never received it. This is the reason we give you a refusal.

My Father,—We have always been attentive to your words. You have always told us we had no game upon our lands. We know this; but as the Great Spirit has given us our lands, we trust he will take care to keep something upon them, so long as we want them. We can always pick up little things to live upon.

My Father,—You want an answer, I suppose

Pictures of Illinois

you have been tired of waiting for it. You now have it. This is all we have to say, and it is the last.

My Father,—We regret we cannot grant what you ask, and we are afraid that our blunt way of telling you so may offend you: but we hope not. Do you suppose we wish to injure your feelings? When we ask you for anything, we do it with timidity and a shame-face. Do not blush at what we say. We have often been put to the blush, and you cannot consider it hard that we should now give you cause to blush.

My Father,—You have denied us the smallest favours. When I came to ask you yesterday for only a gill of whiskey apiece for my young men; you refused it. You must reflect that we have feelings as well as you.

The several charges brought forward in these speeches, with such gravity and apparent plausibility, were each distinctly and fully replied to. Before I talk any more, said Gov. Class upon the business we are now considering, I wish to make a few remarks on some things which Metea has mentioned.

In the first place, when you asked me for the whiskey, you ought not to have blushed because I refused it, but because you asked it. I told you, some days ago, you should have no more whiskey—that I had stopped it all up tight, so that none could get out. Do your people suppose I would tell them a lie?

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

If we wish to get your lands without paying a just equivalent for them, we have nothing to do but to get you all intoxicated, and we could purchase as much land as we pleased. You perfectly know that when in liquor you have not your proper senses, and are wholly unfit to transact any business, especially business of so weighty a nature. When intoxicated, you may be induced to sign any paper — you then fall asleep, and when you awake, find you have lost all your lands. But instead of pursuing this course, we keep the whiskey from you, that you may make the best bargain for yourselves, your women, and children. I am surprised particularly, that your *old* men should come forward continually crying whiskey! whiskey! whiskey!

The little liquor you asked for, would neither make me, nor my friend, (Mr. Sibley, who was associated with Gov. Cass in the commission) richer nor poorer. The worth of the whiskey is trifling — too trifling to merit a moment's consideration, but we denied it to you only to keep you sober, that you should be able to see justice done to yourselves.

This passion for strong drink has injured your nation more than any other thing — more than all the other causes put together. It is not a long period since you were a powerful and independent tribe — now, you are reduced to a handful, and it is all owing to ardent spirits. How should we look, should we hereafter

Pictures of Illinois

meet you in council, and you should get up and say, We were drunk when we signed this treaty!

We are daily giving you as much as you can eat; you are receiving a liberal allowance of provisions every morning, and cannot complain that there is any thing wanting to render your situation comfortable. We neither spare nor value the expense of it. If you *will* drink and *must* drink, at least wait until a proper time. If you have any regard for my words, or those of my friend, (Mr. Sibley) you will say no more about whiskey.

Touching the alleged non-payment of a part of the money stipulated in the treaty of St. Mary's, he remarked—

In the first place the United States never made a single promise that they have not fulfilled. We put it all upon paper, and we there find it ; and we know what it is. Your Great Father resides at a great distance, but he keeps a watchful eye over you, and over us, and would be highly incensed against any of his public servants who should do you an act of injustice. As to your annuities, you must divide them between yourselves. We give out a large amount to you all, and we wish it to be fairly divided.

You say that you were promised three thousand five hundred dollars at the treaty of St. Mary's, and received but two thousand five hundred. It is not so! You were never prom-

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

ised it! You were promised two thousand five hundred dollars, and it was written down; and you never made a request for one thousand dollars more. There! (pointing to Mr. Kinzie) and there! (pointing to Mr. Burnet) stand the two men who made the bargain with you, for the amount of the annuity at St. Mary's. I shall now sit down to give them an opportunity to speak.

John Kinzie, Esq., to the Indians:—

You must recollect that when I first spoke to you about the annuity at St. Mary's, I told you I could offer you only—that your Father had authorized me to offer you only two thousand dollars. You said it was too little. I took this answer to your Father, who said that the annuity was small, because you had sold but a small tract of country: but he authorized me to give a little more, which you agreed to, and upon this, the treaty was signed. Mr. Bertrand was also present, and can speak to the point. Here Mr. Kinzie further observed, that the next day after the conclusion of the treaty, the Indians got into a drinking frolic, and disputed about the sum; but he went and explained it to them, as before stated, when they were satisfied. Mr. Bertrand then addressed the Indians in confirmation of the statement of Mr. Kinzie, and that the sum agreed upon was two thousand five hundred dollars. Mr. John Burnet also addressed them to the same effect, and confirmed the testimony of Mr. Kinzie and Mr. Bertrand.

Pictures of Illinois

These statements, coming from persons perfectly versed in the Indian language—persons who had spent their lives among them, one of whom is connected with them by blood, and another by inter-marriage, persons who were acquainted with perhaps every man in the nation, and who severally enjoy a high standing among them, were received by the Indians with conclusive weight. Nor did they utter another word on the subject either of the annuity or the whiskey, although the discussion upon the main subject was protracted seven days longer.

Governor Cass proceeded—

Now, I trust, you are satisfied that the sum was two thousand five hundred dollars, and that the United States always do you perfect justice. Besides, before the treaty was signed, it was read over, sentence by sentence, and explained to you; and I now see a dozen persons around me who were present. There is Col. Godfroy, Capt. Hackley, Mr. Conner, etc. and if there had been any mistake they would have observed it at the time.

There is another point, to which I wish to call your attention. You say I told you at St. Mary's, that I should never ask you for any more lands.⁸ I never told a man of your nation any thing like it. On the contrary, I told you that your Great Father would always ask for

⁸Some promise of this kind is understood to have been made to the Indians, at a treaty concluded by Governor Hull at Detroit.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

lands when he thought proper—that it did not depend upon me, and that I could make no promise. I make no such promise now. I have no right to make such a promise. When your Great Father wants more land, he will ask for it; and I can give no pledge that he will not, within a month after the conclusion of this treaty, solicit new concessions.

Respecting the bold and impetuous manner which had accompanied their negative on the main question, he observed:—

I am not at all dissatisfied with Metea. I admire the frankness and independence with which he has spoken; and I hope you will all be equally free in speaking your minds. I know we shall, in the end, conclude a bargain for the lands, and have therefore listened to what has been said without any apprehension about the result. It was to be expected that you would be slow in acceding to our wishes in a public manner,—whatever might be the feelings and wishes of individuals. I know you are too wise to reject such an offer.

Our friends, the Ottowas, were not all here when we first made our proposal, but are now present, and will consider our words as also addressed to them.

The clear and full manner in which their allegations were answered, and the plain colloquial style and force of expression employed in reference to the peculiar idiom of their language, produced a visible and striking effect

Pictures of Illinois

upon the assembled multitude, and upon the tone and feeling with which they afterward continued the discussion.

After a short pause, Keewaygooshkum—a chief of the first authority among the Ottowas, delivered his sentiments, in a clear and methodical speech, the greater part of which we present to the reader, not so much from any attractions it presents as a specimen of Indian oratory, as from the circumstance of its being a curious and valuable recital of historical events from the mouth of an Indian.⁹ The only part of it particularly affecting the purchase is embraced in the concluding sentence.

My Father,—Listen to me! The first white people seen by us were the French. When they first ventured into these lakes they hailed us as children;—they came with presents and promises of peace, and we took them by the hand. We gave them what they wanted, and initiated them into our mode of life, which they readily fell into. After some time, during

⁹ A series of misfortunes has since overtaken this friendly, modest, and sensible chief. On returning from the treaty of Chicago, while off the mouth of Grand River in Lake Michigan, his canoe was struck by a flaw of wind and upset. After making every exertion, he saw his wife and all his children, except one son, perish. With this son he reached the shore; but as if to crown his misfortune, this only surviving child has since been poisoned for the part he took in the treaty.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

which we had become well acquainted, we embraced their father, (the king of France), as our father.

Shortly after, those people that wear red coats, (the English), came to this country, and overthrew the French; and they extended their hand to us in friendship. As soon as the French were overthrown the British told us:—we will clothe you in the same manner the French did—we will supply you with all you want and will purchase all your peltries, as they formerly did.

Sure enough! After the British took possession of the country, they fulfilled all their promises. When they told us we should have any thing, we were sure to get it; and we got from them the best goods.

Some time after the British had been in possession of the country, it was reported that another people, who wore white clothes, had arisen and driven the British out of the land. These people we first met at Greenville, (Wayne's treaty, 1795), and took them by the hand.

When the Indians first met the American chief, (Gen. Wayne,) in council, there were but few Ottowas present; but he said to them, "when I sit myself down at Detroit, you will all see me." Shortly after, he arrived at Detroit. Proclamation was then made for all the Indians to come in.

We were told,—“The reason I do not push

Pictures of Illinois

those British farther is, that we may not forget their example in giving you presents of cloth, arms, ammunition, and whatever else you may require."

Sure enough! The first time, we were clothed with great liberality: you gave us strouds, guns, ammunition, and many other things we stood in need of, and said,— "This is the way you may always expect to be used." It was also said, that whenever we were in great necessity, you would help us.

When the Indians on the Maumee¹⁰ were first about to sell their lands, we heard it with both ears, but we never received a dollar.

The Chippewas, the Pottowattomies, and the Ottowas **WERE ORIGINALLY ONE NATION!** We separated from each other near Michilimackinac. We were related by the ties of blood, language, and interest; but in the course of a long time, these things have been forgotten, and both nations have sold their lands, without consulting us.

Sometimes it has happened that we have been at Detroit when the money was dealt out to the other nations, and we wished for a share; but in vain. We have never received any.¹¹

¹⁰ This expression particularly refers to a part of the Ottowas nation, who reside upon that stream.

¹¹ Here Gov. Cass stopped him, and said that he and his people had received \$500, in the autumn of 1820; to which Keewaygooshkum assented.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

Our brothers, the Chippewas, have also sold you a large tract of land at Saganaw. People are constantly passing through the country, but we received neither invitation nor money. It is surprising that the Pottowatomies, Ottowas, and Chippewas, who are all one nation, should sell their lands without giving each other notice. Have we then degenerated so much that we can no longer trust one another?

Perhaps the Pottowatomies may think I have come here on a begging journey, that I wish to claim a share of lands to which my people are not entitled. I tell them it is not so. We have never begged, and shall not now commence.

When I went to Detroit last fall, Governor Cass told me to come to this place at this time, and listen to what he had to say in council.

As we live a great way in the woods, we never see white people except in the fall, when the traders come among us. We have not so many opportunities to profit by this intercourse as our neighbours, and to get what necessities we require; but we make out to live independently, and trade upon *our own lands*.¹²

We have, heretofore, received nothing less than justice from the Americans, and all we

¹²We understood this entire sentence to be spoken ironically, in relation to the Pottowatomies, who, it would seem, have not always confined themselves to their own lands.

Pictures of Illinois

expect, in the present treaty, is a full proportion of the money and goods.

The speech which we have given at the conclusion of the last chapter, containing the first public acquiescence in the sale, and that an almost unconditional one, produced a very sensible effect upon the Indians, who manifested considerable agitation, and an impatient desire to speak. Several chiefs arose in quick succession, and expressed themselves in a hurried and rapid manner, in favour of the sale.

Metaawau, a Chippewa chief from the Plains, said:—

My Father,—I shake hands with you, and with the President of the United States, and with the Great Spirit that makes all our flesh. I have come here to see and hear,—and with those who are around me, wish to know what sum of money you will give us for our lands. I wish also to know what quantity of clothing you mean to give us to clothe ourselves, both men and women.

My Father,—Behold! see my brethren, both young and old—the warriors and chiefs—the women and children of my nation. I expect, when they get up to go home, that they will be dressed out like flowers in the prairies. I expect they will not only have their bodies covered, but also something to lay upon their shoulders.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

My Father,—I wish you also to explain to us the sum of money you intend to pay to us yearly.

Mich-el, an aged chief of the Chippewas, addressed the Indians—

My Brethren, all,—I am about to speak a few words. I know you expect it. Be silent therefore, that the words of an old man may be heard.

My Brethren,—You have heard the man who has just spoken. He is a war chief;—he is a Chippewa;—they and the Ottowas are one nation. We are all descended from the same stock—the Pottowattomies, the Chippewas, and the Ottowas, we consider ourselves as ONE. Why should we not always act in concert?

To the Commissioners—

My Father,—All my concern is for our young men, our women, and our children. They stand in need of many things which are necessary in our way of life. They look up to you for relief. Take pity on them.

My Father,—Great changes have taken place. It is not now with us as it formerly was. Our lands are scarce of game, and afford us a scanty subsistence. It is often the lot of our people, to lie down at night, weary and hungry, and to shake for the want of clothing. But we are not of the race of people who complain. Though game is scarce upon our lands, there is still enough to keep us alive, and poor as they are, we feel loth to part with them.

Pictures of Illinois

My Father,—There is another subject which I wish to mention to you. It is the factors. I was here when the first one arrived. I was overjoyed when I heard of his coming, because I thought we should now be supplied with goods on easier terms. We were disappointed. We found we could not buy goods of him cheaper than from other traders who visited our villages. This person who was so hard upon us was sent away; but still we find no alteration.

My Father,—The people you allow to come here to trade with us, ought to be sent off the ground. They sell everything very dear. We do not wish any person sent here who sells so dear. Send us none but those who sell cheap.

My Father,—We also want a blacksmith. I now take you by the hand.

Governor Cass here stated to them—

We are pleased with all we have heard; but our ears are tired of waiting to hear something favourable from the Pottowattomies of St. Joseph. We should be very unwilling to return home, and distribute all our goods to the Pottowattomies of the Prairies, and to the Ottowas, who have already acceded to our offer. We should not like this. We wish that the villages on the St. Joseph should also be benefited by our liberality.

The country we propose to purchase of you is this:—Beginning at the south end of lake

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

Michigan, at the mouth of the Grand Konomick [Calumet], and running towards sunrise, until it strikes the lands that the Pottowattomies granted to their father at Fort Meigs; thence north, running along the line of Hull's treaty, to a point directly opposite the mouth of Grand River of lake Michigan; thence due west to the mouth of Grand River. In other words, all the lands between the Grand Konomick [Calumet] and Grand River, extending towards the rising of the sun until it strikes the old grants.

We cannot make you an offer until we know what reservations you wish to make. We do not wish to pay you for a tract of land, half of which you may choose to retain in reservations. We have no objection that proper reservations should be made; but we must first know their extent before we can make you an offer. Our price will be proportioned to the extent of the tract; and if you sell us but little, you must expect but little for it.

We had rather that you would take one large piece than many small ones. It renders the tract less valuable to us, to have a great many little reservations upon it. Every little village and family cannot expect to have a particular reservation; and you will find it more advantageous to fix your reservations in one body. But we must first know where it is to be, and what is to be the extent of it, before we shall be prepared to make you an offer and fix the

Pictures of Illinois

annuities. You had better withdraw immediately and determine this point.

Metea now arose and said, with some perturbation in his tone and manner,—

My Father,—Look at the treatment we have received from the Chippewas and the Ottowas. They never gave us notice of what they were going to speak. If they had informed us previously to the meeting of the council, of those sentiments and dispositions which they have just now made you acquainted with, you would not have heard what has passed from us.

My Father,—I wish you now to wait until we can have some further consultation, and agree to act together.

The commissioners now withdrew from the council, leaving the Indians to discuss the matter among themselves, and requesting that when they had come to a conclusion, they would send notice.

EVENING COUNCIL OF THE TWENTY-SECOND

It was late in the afternoon before the Pottowatomies of St. Joseph announced their readiness to make their final reply. But it was soon evident that there was not a complete unanimity of sentiment among them, and that, in the interim, the leaders of this party had exerted their influence to induce the Pottowatomies of the Prairies, together with the Chippewas and Ottowas, to withhold their final

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

assent. Metea renewed the discussion by saying,—My Brothers, warriors and war chiefs, village chiefs and young men, listen attentively to what the person who is about to speak shall say; be silent and serious, and make a general response.

Koangee, a chief of mature age and a venerable aspect, now arose and placed himself in the attitude for speaking. There was a rigidity in this man's thin and sunken visage, which we thought peculiar, and he spoke in a somewhat broken and husky voice.

My Father,—Since you heard from our brothers, the Chippewas and Ottowas, we have counselled together. It is now your wish to hear the sentiments of the three nations. I shall deliver them.

My Father,—Sometimes the Indians have acted like children. When requested, they have signed away their lands without consideration. This has always made trouble in the nation, and blood has been spilt in consequence. We wish to avoid such foolish and bad conduct.

My Father,—The last time we sat down in council together, we had not fully consulted each other; and perhaps you drew a wrong conclusion from what we said. We did *not* consent to your request.

My Father,—In times past, when you have asked us for lands, we have freely sold them. At present, there are a number of our people opposed to selling, and we have found it very

Pictures of Illinois

difficult to agree in mind. One point, in particular, we differ much upon: it is the extent of the grant you request.

My Father,—We give you one more proof of our friendship, by meeting you in this council. You know our minds—we now take you by the hand. Look down upon us with compassion; and wish us well.¹³

Ottowaubeh immediately followed—

Brother Pottowattomies,—Hearken to what I am going to say to you. Make haste, and decide! I do not say I want you to sell your lands; but we all wish to go home. We have been here long enough, and so has our Father. Take into consideration the long journey he has taken, and decide immediately.

No other persons evincing a desire to speak

¹³ In reporting this speech of Koangee, we omit a great part of it, owing to a want of confidence in the interpretation. It was satisfactorily ascertained by the commissioners, that to several of the sentences, a more favourable turn was given by the interpreter, than the original would justify, while the sense and meaning of some expressions were totally perverted. In consequence, several contradictions and inconsistencies appear in our original notes of this speech, and upon the whole, an assent to the sale appears in it, which the speaker did not intend. It appeared to be his policy not to use a decided tone pro or con, but by a doubting, reluctant, yet moderated tone, to prolong the discussions with a view to secure ulterior advantages. From the exhortation of Ottowaubeh, which followed, it is evident nothing absolutely decisive, had been expressed by Koangee, on the main question.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

on the question, and the hour growing late, Gov. Cass dismissed the Indians, with the following remarks:—

It is getting late, and I shall not detain you longer from your camps. Neither do I wish to hurry you to make a decision, without full deliberation. It is best for you this evening to consult upon what has been said, and let three or four of your principal chiefs come forward in the morning, and fix upon the reservations. You must not, however, expect to grant us a tract of land, and then take it all back in reservations. If you give a small tract, and claim large reservations, you must also expect a small amount of goods. The quantity of goods will depend upon the boundary.

I have stated to you the line your Great Father wants. That is the line that must be in the treaty. We need talk no more about that. That is fixed. We shall talk only about the reservations.

I want three or four Ottowas also to come forward in the morning, and fix upon the reservations they want. As soon as that is done, we shall be able to tell you what annuities, and what amount of goods you are to receive.

We are in great hopes of concluding everything to-morrow. We wish to give out the goods and money, and return to our homes as soon as possible. I shall expect the chiefs to meet me punctually at an early hour in the morning.

Pictures of Illinois

COUNCIL ON THE TWENTY-THIRD Metea.—

My Father,—You are sent by our Great Father, the President, from a great way off; and however far you may be off, when you speak, we hear you.

My Father,—The Great Spirit has made us Indians all of one colour, and given us a heart and sense; and we give no offence, and wish to receive none.

My Father,—You came from over the Great Hill,¹⁴ and have travelled over our lands, therefore, are sent by the President to buy them.

My Father,—What has made you great, and raised you high in commission? It is the lands you have bought of us.

My Father,—You know that you are living on our lands, and that you draw your support from them—that you raise from them wherewith to maintain and clothe yourselves.

My Father,—You see that you come and settle among us, on our lands; and what does that prove? It proves that our lands are more valuable than yours.

My Father,—You raise your cattle on our lands, and when they are fat you kill them, and cut the wood which grows on our lands to cook them.

My Father,—Now you shall learn the object of the Indians in calling you to the council to-day.

¹⁴ Meaning, probably, the Alleghany Mountains.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

To the Indians:—

Brothers, chiefs, and warriors,—Here is our Father, sent to us by the President of the United States. We have heard what our Father has to say. If we cannot agree to sell our lands, let us tell him so at once. Our lands were given to us by the Great Spirit, together with the game on them, and the streams, and the fish in them, for our subsistence.

Brothers, Chippewas, and Ottowas,—Now come forward and speak your sentiments freely, as was formerly the case among our fathers.

Brothers, Chippewas, and Ottowas,—We consider ourselves as one people, which you know, as also our Father here, who has travelled over our country.

Brothers, Chippewas, and Ottowas,—Now I wish to hear what you have to say.

To the Commissioners:—

My Father,—As it is late, I shall do no more to-day; but to-morrow you shall hear our final council.

My Father,—You are hungry by this time. You white men eat at certain fixed hours; we Indians, do what we have to do, and eat when it is convenient.

My Father,—If I were to tell you all I have to say, it would take a day, therefore, I shall say no *more at present*.

It was observed in reply:—

We are contented with the Chippewas and Ottowas. We make our own bargain with

Pictures of Illinois

them. They are able to make their own bargain, and do not want any help. The Potowatomies also have men of sense enough among them, to make their own bargain, and do not want any help from the Chippewas and Ottowas.

We hope to hear no more of calling on the Chippewas and Ottowas; but do your business among yourselves. Let each tribe make their own bargain. There will be no difficulty in determining this afternoon. It wants several hours of night, and we are anxious to close the treaty. We will now retire, and hope to hear from you after a while.

At this stage of the negotiation I was confined to my room, by a sudden attack of bilious fever, and no further notes of the proceedings were taken. The discussion was prolonged several days, by the various propositions and modifications which were submitted on each side. The Indians evinced considerable dexterity in settling the preliminaries and reservations, and manifested a determination to secure the best possible terms. The treaty, of which we present a ratified copy in our appendix, was formally signed on the twenty-ninth, and the amount of goods stipulated to be paid to them, immediately issued.

By this treaty they relinquish their title to a tract of country, in the southern portion of the

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

peninsula of Michigan, containing by estimation, upwards of five million acres. From this cession they reserve, as collective property, five several tracts; situated at distant points, containing in the aggregate twenty-two miles square, and as individual property, which the government stipulates to patent, to upward of thirty different persons, being all Indians by descent, various select tracts, containing from one half section to two sections of land. To preserve these grants in the families they are intended to benefit, the grantees and their heirs, are rendered incapable of leasing or selling them to any persons, without the special permission of the President of the United States.

The government stipulates to pay to the Ottawa nation a perpetual annuity of one thousand dollars, in addition to which, they are to expend annually, for the term of ten years, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, in the support of a blacksmith, a teacher, and a person to instruct the Ottowas in agriculture, and in the purchase of cattle and farming utensils. To the Pottowattomie nation, they agree to pay an annuity of five thousand dollars in specie, for the term of twenty years, and to appropriate annually, for the term of fifteen years, the sum of one thousand dollars, to be expended in the support of a blacksmith and a teacher. The stipulation contained in the treaty of Greenville, relative to the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land ceded, while

Pictures of Illinois

it continues the property of the United States, is to be construed as extending to this purchase. And the Indians grant the privilege of making and using a road through their territories, from Detroit and Fort Wayne, respectively, to Chicago. Such are the principal stipulations of this treaty, by which the Indians cede a portion of their immense domains, which they but partially occupy, and cannot improve. These lands are now nearly destitute of game, particularly of the larger animals, and are every year becoming of less value to the hunter. By exchanging portions of them for merchandise and specie, for the services of mechanics and instructors, and for cattle and farming utensils, they secure the means of rendering the remaining parts valuable and productive, and of transmitting the blessings of instruction, and the advantages of agriculture to their posterity.

Appendix

The Chicago Treaty of 1821

Appendix

*Articles of a Treaty made and concluded at Chicago,
in the State of Illinois, between Lewis Cass and Solomon
Sibley, Commissioners of the United States, and the Ottawa,
Chippewa, and Pottawatamie, Nations of Indians.*

ARTICLE I. The Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie, Nations of Indians cede to the United States all the Land comprehended within the following boundaries: Beginning at a point on the south bank of the river St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, near the Parc aux Vaches, due north from Rum's Village, and running thence south to a line drawn due east from the southern extreme of Lake Michigan, thence with the said line east to the Tract ceded by the Pottawatamies to the United States by the Treaty of Fort Meigs in 1817, if the said line should strike the said Tract, but if the said line should pass north of the said Tract then such line shall be continued until it strikes the western boundary of the Tract ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Detroit in 1807, and from the termination of the said line, following the boundaries of former cessions, to the main branch of the Grand River of Lake Michigan, should any of the said lines cross the said River, but if none of the said lines should cross the said River, then to a point due east of the source of the said main branch of the said River, and from such point due west to the source of the said principal branch, and from the crossing of the said River, or from the source thereof, as the case may be, down the said River, on the north bank thereof, to the mouth; thence following the shore of Lake Michigan to the south bank of the said river St. Joseph, at the mouth thereof, and thence with the said south bank to the place of beginning.

Appendix

ART. 2. From the cession aforesaid, there shall be reserved, for the use of Indians the following Tracts:

One tract at Mang-ach-qua Village on the river Pebble, of six miles square.

One tract at Mick-ke-saw-be, of six miles square.

One tract at the village of Na-to-wa-se-pe, of four miles square.

One tract at the village of Prairie Ronde, of three miles square.

One tract at the village of Match-e-be-narh-she-wish, at the head of the Kekalamazoo river.

ART. 3. There shall be granted by the United States to each of the following persons, being all Indians by descent, and to their heirs, the following Tracts of Land:

To John Burnet, two sections of land.

To James Burnet, Abraham Burnet, Rebecca Burnet, and Nancy Burnet, each one section of land; which said John, James, Abraham, Rebecca, and Nancy are children of Kaw-kee-me, sister of Top-nibe, principal chief of the Pottawatamie nation.

The land granted to the persons immediately preceding, shall begin on the north bank of the river St. Joseph, about two miles from the mouth, and shall extend up and back from the said river for quantity.

To John B. La Lime, son of Noke-no-qua, one-half of a section of land, adjoining the tract before granted, and on the upper side thereof.

To Jean B. Chandonai, son of Chip-pe-wa-qua, two sections of land, on the river St. Joseph, above and adjoining the tract granted to J. B. La Lime.

To Joseph Dazé, son of Chip-pe-wa-qua, one section of land above and adjoining the tract granted to Jean B. Chandonai.

To Monguago, one-half of a section of land, at Mish-she-wa-ko-kink.

To Pierre Moran or Peeresh, a Pottawatamie Chief, one section of land, and to his children two sections of land, at the mouth of the Elk-heart River.

Appendix

To Pierre Le Clerc, son of Moi-qua, one section of land on the Elk-heart river, above and adjoining the tract granted to Moran and his children.

The section of land granted by the Treaty of St. Mary's, in 1818, to Peeresh or Perig, shall be granted to Jean B. Cicot, son of Pe-say-quot, sister of the said Peeresh, it having been so intended at the execution of the said Treaty.

To O-she-ak-ke-be or Benac, one-half of a section of land on the north side of the Elk-heart river, where the road from Chicago to Fort Wayne first crosses the said river.

To Me-naw-che, a Pottawatamie woman, one-half of a section of land on the eastern bank of the St. Joseph, where the road from Detroit to Chicago first crosses the said river.

To Theresa Chandler or To-e-ak-qui, a Pottawatamie woman, and to her daughter Betsey Fisher, one section of land on the south side of the Grand River, opposite to the Spruce Swamp.

To Charles Beaubien and Medart Beaubien, sons of Man-na-ben-a-qua, each one-half of a section of land near the village of Ke-wi-go-shkeem, on the Washtenaw River.

To Antoine Roland, son of I-gat-pat-a-wat-a-mie-qua, one-half of a section of land adjoining and below the tract granted to Pierre Moran.

To William Knaggs or Was-es-kuk-son, son of Ches-qua, one-half of a section of land adjoining and below the tract granted to Antoine Roland.

To Madeline Bertrand, wife of Joseph Bertrand, a Pottawatamie woman, one section of land at the Parc aux Vaches, on the north side of the river St. Joseph.

To Joseph Bertrand, junior, Benjamin Bertrand, Laurent Bertrand, Theresa Bertrand, and Amable Bertrand, children of the said Madeline Bertrand, each one-half of a section of land at the portage of the Kankakee River.

To John Riley, son of Me-naw-cum-a-go-quoi, one

Appendix

section of land, at the mouth of the river Au Foin, on the Grand River, and extending up the said River.

To Peter Riley, the son of Me-naw-cum-a-go-qua, one section of land, at the mouth of the river Au Foin, on the Grand River, and extending down the said river.

To Jean B. Le Clerc, son of Moi-qua, one-half of a section of land, above and adjoining the tract granted to Pierre Le Clerc.

To Joseph La Framboise, son of Shaw-we-no-qua, one section of land upon the south side of the river St. Joseph, and adjoining on the upper side the land ceded to the United States, which said section is also ceded to the United States.

The Tracts of Land herein stipulated to be granted, shall never be leased or conveyed by the grantees or their heirs to any persons whatever, without the permission of the President of the United States. And such tracts shall be located after the said cession is surveyed, and in conformity with such surveys as near as may be, and in such manner as the President may direct.

ART. 4. In consideration of the cession aforesaid, the United States engage to pay to the Ottawa nation, one thousand dollars in specie annually forever, and also to appropriate annually, for the term of ten years, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a Blacksmith, of a Teacher, and of a person to instruct the Ottawas in agriculture, and in the purchase of cattle and farming utensils. And the United States also engage to pay to the Pottawatamie nation five thousand dollars in specie, annually, for the term of twenty years, and also to appropriate annually, for the term of fifteen years, the sum of one thousand dollars, to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a Blacksmith and a Teacher. And one mile square shall be selected, under the direction of the President, on the north side of the Grand River, and one mile square on the south side of the

Appendix

St. Joseph, and within the Indian lands not ceded, upon which the blacksmiths and teachers employed for the said tribes, respectively, shall reside.

ART. 5. The stipulation contained in the treaty of Greenville, relative to the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land ceded while it continues the property of the United States, shall apply to this treaty.

ART. 6. The United States shall have the privilege of making and using a road through the Indian country, from Detroit and Fort Wayne, respectively, to Chicago.

ART. 7. This Treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, the said Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley, commissioners as aforesaid, and the Chiefs and Warriors of the said Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie nations, have hereunto set their hands, at Chicago aforesaid, this 29th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.

LEWIS CASS,
SOLOMON SIBLEY.

Ottawas.

Kewagoushcum,	To-pen-ne-bee,
Nokawjegaun,	Mee-te-ay,
Kee-o-to-aw-be,	Chee-banse,
Ket-che-me-chi-na-waw,	Loui-son,
Ep-pe-san-se,	Wee-saw,
Kay-nee-wee,	Kee-po-taw,
Mo-a-put-to,	Shay-auk-ke-bee,
Mat-che-pee-na-che-wish.	Scho-mang,

Chippewas.

Met-tay-waw,	Waw-we-uck-ke-meck,
Mich-el.	Nay-ou-chee-mon,
	Kon-gee,
	Shee-shaw-gan,

Appendix

Aysh-cam,	Ka-way-sin,
Meek-say-mank,	A-meck-kose,
May-ten-way,	Os-see-meet,
Shaw-wen-ne-me-tay,	Shaw-ko-to,
Francois,	No-shay-we-quat,
Mauk-see,	Mee-gwun,
Way-me-go,	Mesh-she-ke-ten-now,
Man-daw-min,	Kee-no-to-go,
Quay-guee,	Wa-baw-nee-she,
Aa-pen-naw-bee,	Shaw-waw-nay-see,
Mat-cha-wee-yaas,	Atch-wee-muck-quee,
Mat-cha-pag-gish,	Pish-she-baw-gay,
Mongaw,	Waw-ba-saye,
Pug-gay-gaus,	Meg-ges-seese,
Ses-cobe-mesh,	Say-gaw-koo-nuck,
Chee-gwa-mack-gwa-go,	Shaw-way-no,
Waw-seb-baw,	Shee-shaw-gun,
Pee-chee-co,	To-to-mee,
Quoi-quoi-taw,	Ash-kee-wee,
Pe-an-nish,	Shay-auk-ke-bee
Wy-ne-maig,	Aw-be-tone.
O-nuck-ke-meck,	

In presence of Alex. Wolcott, jr. Indian Agent.
Jno. R. Williams, Adjt. Gen. M. Ma. G. Godfroy,
Indian Agent. W. Knaggs, Indian Agent. Jacob
Visger. Henry I. Hunt. H. Phillips, Paymr. U.S.
Army. R. Montgomery. Jacob B. Varnum, U. S.
Factor. John B. Beaubien. Conrad Ten Eyck.
J. Whippley. George Miles, jun. Henry Connor.
Jas. Barnerd. John Kenzie, Sub-Agent.

To the Indian names are subjoined marks.

The tract reserved at the village of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, at the head of the Ke-kal-i-ma-zoo river, was by agreement to be three miles square. The extent of the reservation was accidentally omitted.

LEWIS CASS,
SOLOMON SIBLEY.

Index

Index

AA-PEN-NAW-BEE, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Abernathy, Dr. John, English surgeon, 47.
Agriculture, effect on soil, 4; need of capital for 22, 25; methods, 56, 67; decline of, 50; along the Illinois River, 97; among Indians, 130, 159, 160. See also Soils.
Ague. See Health.
Albion (Ill.), an English settlement, 41, 49, 51, 60, 62; county seat, 44, 47; visited, 45; described, 46-48; discord at, 48-49.
Alleghany Mountains, referred to by Indians, 156.
A-meck-kose, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Amequon River. See Spoon River.
American Bottom, described, 78; fertility of, 79.
American traits, 18-19, 36, 37. See also Frontiersmen.
Ash-kee-wee, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Atch-wee-muck-quee, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Au Foin River, in Michigan, 166.
Au Sable Creek, in northern Illinois, 115.
Aw-be-tone, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Ayer Manuscript Collection, XIV.
Aysh-cam, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
BACKWOODSMEN. See Frontiersmen.
Barnerd, James, at Chicago treaty, 168.
Bears, in Illinois, 6, 7, 12, 13, 31, 36, 70; dread of, 30; habits of, 32; hunted, 34.
Beaubien, Charles, cession to, 165.
Beaubien, John B., at Chicago treaty, 168.
Beaubien, Medart, cession to, 165.
Beaver, in Illinois, XIII, 31; scarcity of, 98-99.
Beck, Lewis C., *Gazetteer*, cited, 116.
Beds, in frontier taverns, 42-43, 45, 70.
Beef, exported, 47; cheap, 97. See also Cattle.
Benac. See O-she-ak-ke-be.

Index

Bertrand, Amable, cession to, 165.
Bertrand, Benjamin, cession to, 165.
Bertrand, Joseph, at Chicago treaty, 141; Indian wife of, 165.
Bertrand, Joseph Junior, cession to, 165.
Bertrand, Laurent, cession to, 165.
Bertrand, Madeline, cession to, 165.
Bertrand, Theresa, cession to, 165.
Big Prairie, in eastern Illinois, 3, 4, 6.
Big Wabash River. See Wabash River.
Birkbeck, Morris, Illinois settler, xvi-xviii; settlement visited, 41, 45-49; losses, 50-51; opposes slavery, 60; *Notes on a Journey, etc.*, xvii, xviii, 1-37; *Letters from Illinois*, xviii, 50.
Blacksmiths, desired by Indians, 150, 159; granted, 166-67.
Blane, William Newnham. *An Excursion through the United States and Canada*, xviii-xix, 41-81.
Blazing trees, described, 64.
Bon Pas River, bridged, 44-45.
Bounty lands. See Lands.
Bridges, in eastern Illinois, 45.
Brindley, —, engineer, 119.
Buck, Solon J., *Illinois in 1818*, xv.
Buffalo, in Illinois, xiii, 111.
Buffalo fish, in Illinois River, 98.
Buffalo Rock, on Illinois River, 109.
Burnet, Abraham, land grant to, 164.
Burnet, James, land grant to, 164.
Burnet, John, at Chicago treaty, 140; land grant to, 164.
Burnet, Nancy, land grant to, 164.
Burnet, Rebecca, land grant to, 164.
Bustards, in Illinois, xiii.
Butter, price of, 27.
CABINS, of frontiersmen, 9-10, 13, 51, 97; described, 68-69.
Cactus, in Illinois, 107.
Calumet River, proposed diversion of, 120; mouth of, 151.

Index

Canada, advantages for emigrants, 51.
Canals, Calumet, 120; Chicago to Illinois, 88, 117-20.
Capital, needed by emigrants, 22-26, 28; difficulty of increasing, 50.
Carlyle (Ill.), 74.
Cass, Lewis, Indian superintendent, xii, xix, 147; treaty commissioner, xx, 122-68; speeches, 123-24, 129-32, 138-41, 142-43, 150-52, 155.
Catamounts. See Wildcats.
Catfish, in Illinois River, 98.
Cat's Ferry, on the Little Wabash, 60, 64, 69.
Cattle, prices of, 26; care of, 36, 97; food for, 98; market for, 89; drove of, 44; cross ford, 63; killed in fires, 77. See also Beef.
Chandler, Theresa. See Schindler.
Chandonai, Jean B., land grant to, 164.
Charlevoix, Pierre François Xavier, Illinois traveler, 87.
Chee-banse, Pottawatomi chief, 167.
Chee-gwa-mack-gwa-go, Pottawatomi chief, 165.
Cheese, price of, 27.
Ches-qua, Indian woman, 165.
Chicago, site, xii, 102, 104; as a market, 89; harbor at, 119-21; road to, 160, 165, 167; canal from, 88, 117-18; travelers at, xiv, xix, xxi, 122-60; Indian treaty at, xx, 103, 108, 121-68.
Chicago River, portage from, 117; harbor at, 120-21; south fork of, 122; treaty bower on, 122.
Chippewa Indians, origin of, 146, 149, 157; land cession, 147; speeches of, 148-49; treaty with 122, 163-68; chiefs signed, 167.
Chip-pe-wa-qua, Indian woman, 164.
Cicot, Jean B., cession to, 165.
Cincinnati (Ohio), route via, xviii, 30.
Clark, Gen. William, governor of Missouri, 80.
Climate of Illinois, 32-33, 85, 87, 92, 110, 112; frosts, 88, 96. See also Health.
Coal, in eastern Illinois, 15; on Illinois River, 110.
Communism, in America, 20-25.
Connor, Henry, at Chicago treaty, 142, 168.

Index

Conventionalists, in Illinois, 59-60.
Corn, prices of 25, 26, 27, 88; exported, 47; chief staple, 56, 97; standing stalks of, 61, 79; crops, 88.
Cotton, culture of, 56.
Cottonwood trees, in Illinois, 85.
DAGLEY, —, Illinois pioneer, 5.
Dazé, Joseph, land grant to, 164.
Deer, in Illinois, xiii, 69, 92, 98, 111, 114; price of, 27; hunted, 62; bleached bones of, 77.
Des Plaines River, unites with Kankakee, 113, 118; mound on, 115; ford on, 117, 121; portage to, 117-19.
Detroit, capital of Michigan Territory xii; port, xiii, xx, road from, 160, 167; Indian treaty at, 142, 145, 163; Indian payment, 146, 147.
Domestic service in America, 36, 37.
Ducks, in Illinois, xiii; several varieties of, 98.
EAGLES, in Illinois, 72.
Edwards County, English settlement in, xvi; county seat of, 44.
Eggs, price of, 27.
Elk, in Illinois, xiii, 111.
Elkhart River, cession on, 164-65.
Emigrants, from Europe, 28; advice for, 28, 29, 51-58, 112.
England, voyage from, xviii; emigrants from, 28, 51-57; ideas of America in, 29, 30, 35; agricultural distress in, 53; game laws, 62. See also Great Britain.
“English Settlement,” in Illinois, xvi-xix; described, 45-50.
Englishmen, in Illinois, xvi-xix, 1-81; disputes among, 48-49; homesickness among, 52; favor slavery in Illinois, 60.
English Prairie, site, 46.
Ep-pe-san-se, Ottawa chief, 167.
Erie Canal, 119.
Erie Lake, route via, xx.
Exports, from Illinois, 47.
FACTORY system, of Indian trade, 150.

Index

Fences, on the prairies, 16, 18.
Ferry boats, frozen in, 44.
Fiddles, methods of stringing, 10.
Fighting, on the frontier, 49-50.
Fires, on prairie, described, 74-77.
Fish, abundance of, 98, 100.
Fisher, Mrs. Elizabeth, cession to, 165.
Fitch, —, Illinois tavern keeper, 70, 71.
Flatboats, on the Wabash, 44; to export produce, 47.
Flour, price of, 27; exported, 47.
Flower, George, Illinois settler, xvi, xvii, 11, 35; buys land, 14; home visited, 45; grievances against, 48; opposes slavery, 60.
Food, of frontiersmen, 8, 69, 97. See also the several articles.
Fordham, Elias P., early traveler, xv.
Forests, in prairie region, 46, 63, 65, 70, 95, 112, 113; on Illinois River, 93; fires in, 74-75; cultivation of, 114; destruction of, 69; trees blazed, 64.
Fort Clark, described, 92; site, 95, 101, 105.
Fort Crèvecœur, at Peoria, 93; site, 102.
Fort Dearborn, rebuilt, xii; supplies for, xiii.
Fort Meigs, treaty at, 151.
Fort St. Louis, location, 93.
Fort Wayne, in War of 1812, 134; road from, 160, 165, 167.
“Fortunes of Nigel,” publication of, 80-81.
Fowls, price of, 27; captured by wolves, 73.
Fox and Sauk Indians, habitat, 129.
Fox River, in eastern Illinois, 63, 110.
Fox Settlement, in eastern Illinois, 6.
Franchise, in Illinois, 55.
Francois, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Franklin, Benjamin, unappreciated in America, 19.
French, in Illinois, xii-xiv, 93, 105; mode of living, 78-79; at St. Louis, 79-81; early discoverers, 102, 110, 144; See also Missions.
Frontiersmen, characteristics, xv, 4, 7, 8, 10, 13, 33-35, 64, 66-68; privations of, 6, 51-54; food, 8, 69, 97;

Index

cabins, 9-10, 13, 51, 68-69; lack of physicians among, 47-48; fighting among, 49-50; marksmanship, 61-62; honesty, 65; losses from fires, 75.

Fur trade, in Illinois, xiii, 66, 117; at St. Louis, 80; among Ottawa Indians, 147; factory system for, 150; articles for, 104.

Furniture, in frontier cabins, 9, 42-43. See also Beds.

GARFISH, in Illinois River, 98.

Geology, of Illinois River, 100-102, 105.

Germans, communistic settlement of, 20; peasants, conditions among, 57.

Godfroy, G., at Chicago treaty, 142, 168.

Goldsmith, Oliver, cited, 54.

Grand Prairie, in central Illinois, 71-73.

Grand River, in Michigan, xx, 144, 151, 163, 165.

Grazing, lands for, 88.

Great Britain, pensions Indians, 134; treatment of Indians, 145. See also England.

Great Lakes, route via, xix; posts on, 89.

Greeley, Horace, describes Illinois, xiv.

Green Bay, stone on, 121; Indian tribe on, 129.

Greenville, treaty of, 145, 159, 167.

Grouse. See Prairie chickens.

HACKLEY, Capt. James, at Chicago treaty, 142.

Hares, along Illinois River, 98.

Harmony (Ind.), visited, xix, 3, 19, 41, 52, quarry near, 14; described, 20-25; sketch of, 20.

Hawks, in Illinois, 72.

Hay, price of, 27.

Health, in Illinois, 4, 44, 47, 54, 78; in Missouri, 80; during summer, 85-86, 95.

Highlanders. See Scotch.

Hogs, roam at large, 70-71; food for, 98; market for, 89; captured by wild animals, 31, 36, 73; become wild, 71; drove of, 41. See also Pork.

Honey, in Illinois woods, 97.

Horse flies, discomfort from, 73.

Horses, prices of, 26; for traveling, 29, 65, 108, 110; no shelter for, 68; insect pests afflict, 73; killed in prairie fires, 77.

Index

Hospitality, of frontiersmen, 6, 42, 64, 67, 69.
Houston, —, Illinois pioneer, 72, 74.
Hubbard, Gurdon S., cited, 92.
Hudson Bay, tributary of, 99.
Hull, General William, Indian treaty commissioner, 142, 151.
Hunt, Henry I., at Chicago treaty, 168.
Hunters, of frontier, characterized, 66-67; describe prairie fires, 76-77.
Huron Lake, portage to, 15.
I-GAT-PAT-A-WAT-A-MIE-QUA, Indian woman, 165.
Illinois, during French régime, xiii-xiv, fur trade in, xiii, land prices, 14, 16, 28, 35; franchise, 55; slavery, 58-60; legislature, 59; in 1818, xi-xiii, xv-xviii; centennial of, ix, x. See also Climate, Forests, Health, Soils, etc.
Illinois Indians, hostilities with, 106.
Illinois River, voyage on, xiii, xx-xxi, 85-113; width, 95-96, 101; rapids in, 105, 117-19; canal to, 117-20; Indians on, 129.
Immigrants. See Emigrants.
Improvements, described, 17-18.
Indian agency, at Chicago, xii; 168; at Mackinac, xix; at Sault Ste. Marie, xix-xx, 98.
Indian Corn. See Corn.
Indian reservations, at Chicago treaty, 151-52, 155, 159, 164-66.
Indian trails, to Chicago, xx. See also Roads.
Indiana, boundary, xx; woods of, 4, 30; communistic settlement in, 20; travels in, 41-43; scarcity of money in, 63.
Indians, characterized, 10; physical traits, 104, 134; fondness for liquor, 138-40; religious ideas, 125, 128, 148; agriculture among, 130; village sites, 109; village described, 103-104; attachment to lands, 126-28, 133, 135, 142, 156; fishing methods, 100; war methods, 76, 106; fire plains, 70; burn fort, 92; fur trade with, 98-99; missions for, 103, 112; treaty with, xx, 103, 121-60; effect of white contact, 109; dread of, 30; treatment by whites, xv, 127, 130-31.

Index

Indolence, of frontiersmen, 10, 11, 18; caused by slavery, 36.

Interpreters, at Indian treaty, 154.

Irish, emigration of, 57-58.

JAMES River, route via, 30.

Jesuit missionaries, in Illinois, 103, 109.

Joliet Lake, described, 116; length, 118.

Jolliet, Louis, explored Illinois, 102.

Joutel, Henri, French explorer, xiii.

KALAMAZOO River, Indian village on, 164, 168.

Kankakee River, unites with Des Plaines River, 113, 118; portage to source, 165.

Kaskaskia (Ill.), in 1818, xi, xii.

Kaskaskia Indians, village site, 109.

Kaskaskia River, village on, 74.

Ka-way-sin, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Kaw-kee-me, Pottawatomi woman, 164.

Kay-nee-wee, Ottawa chief, 167.

Kee-no-to-go, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Kee-o-to-aw-be, Ottawa chief, 167.

Kee-po-taw, Pottawatomi chief, 167.

Kee-way-goosh-kum, Ottawa chief, speech, 144-48; sketch, 144; signs treaty, 167.

Kekalamazoo River. See Kalamazoo River.

Kentucky, mail from, 78.

Kenzie. See Kinzie.

Kerry County (Ireland), conditions in, 57.

Ket-che-me-chi-na-waw, Ottawa chief, 167.

Ke-wa-goush-cum. See Kee-way-goosh-kum.

Ke-wi-go-shkeem, Indian village, 165.

Kickapoo Rapids, in Illinois River, 118-19.

Kinzie, John, Indian agent, 168; speech, 141.

Knaggs, William, cession to, 165; Indian agent, 168.

Ko-an-gee, Pottawatomi chief, speech, 153-54; signs treaty, 167.

Konomic River. See Calumet River.

LA CHARBONNIERE, on Illinois River, 110.

La Framboise, Joseph, cession to, 166.

Lagoons, on Illinois River, 90.

Lalime, John B., cession to, 164.

Index

Land office, entries in, 11, 14.
Lands, price of, 14, 16, 28, 35; unsaleable, 54, 58;
surveys of, 16; advantages of owning, 54-55;
bounty for soldiers, 85, 89; ceded by Indians,
122-68.
La Salle, Robert Cavelier de, in Illinois, xiv, 93, 102.
La Ville de Maillet. See Peoria.
Lebanon (Ohio), Shakers at, 23.
Le Clerc, Jean B., cession to, 166.
Le Clerc, Pierre, cession to, 165-66.
Le Rocher, on Illinois River, 105-106, 109.
Lewis (Louis), Meriwether, expedition of, 80.
Limestone, need of, 12, 15; stratum of, 116.
Lindley, Harlow, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*,
20.
Liquor. See Whiskey.
Little Wabash River, explored, 6, 11; land purchases
on, 14, 15; navigation of, 15; watershed, 46; ferry
over, 60, 69; flats of, 69.
Log cabins. See Cabins.
London (Eng.), emigrants from, 51.
Long, Stephen A., scientific expedition, xiv.
Louis. See Lewis.
Louisiana, a French colony, 79.
Loui-son, Pottawatomi chief, 167.
Louisville (Ky.), 33, 43.
Loyola, Ignacio de, disciples of, 103.
MACKINAC, fur trade entrepot, xiii; Indian agent at,
xix, 98; Indian site, 146.
Mail. See Post carriers.
Man-daw-nim, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Mang-ach-qua, Indian village, 164.
Manitou Islands, in Lake Michigan, 120.
Man-na-ben-a-qua, Indian woman, 165.
Marden (England), emigrant from, 35.
Markets, for Illinois produce, 36, 47, 88-89, 118.
Marquette, Father Jacques, explores Illinois, xiii.
Mast, hogs subsist on, 70; described, 71.
Mat-cha-pag-gish, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Mat-cha-wee-yaas, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Index

Match-e-be-narh-she-wish, Indian village, 164, 168.
Mat-che-pee-na-che-wish, Ottawa chief, 167.
Mauk-see, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Maumee River (Miami of the Lakes), route via, xx;
portage to, 15; headwaters of, 129; Indians on, 146.
Mauvaisterre Creek, tributary of Illinois River, 87, 89.
May-ten-way, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Meat, excessive use of, 79.
Mee-gwun, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Meek-say-mank, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Mee-te-ay. See Me-te-a.
Meg-ges-seese, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Me-naw-che, cession to, 165.
Me-naw-cum-a-go-quoi, Indian woman, 165-66.
Menominee Indians, habitat, 129.
Mesh-she-ke-ten-now, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Me-taa-wau (Met-tay-waw), Chippewa chief, speech,
148-49; signs treaty, 167.
Me-te-a (Mee-te-ay), Pottawatomi chief, speeches,
124-28, 134-38, 152-53, 156-57; complimented,
131, 143; signs treaty, 167; sketch of, 134-35.
Met-tay-waw. See Me-taa-wau.
Mexico, 70, 77.
Miami of the Lakes. See Maumee River.
Michel, Chippewa chief, speech, 149; signs treaty, 167.
Michigan, Indian cession of, xx, 122-68; agriculture
in, 89.
Michigan Lake, 71, 117; harbor on, 120; southern end
of, 151; shipwreck on, 144; Indian lands on, 124, 129.
Michilimackinac. See Mackinac.
Mick-ke-saw-be, Indian site, 164.
Miles Jr., George, at Chicago treaty, 168.
Military tract, in Illinois, 85, 89.
Militia, muster of, 3-4.
Milk, price of, 27.
Mills (grist), scarcity of, 6.
Milwaukee (Milwacky), Indians at, 129.
Mineralogy, of Illinois River, 101-102.
Mish-she-wa-ko-kink, Indian site, 164.
Missions, in Illinois, 103, 109.

Index

Mississippi River, mouth, 89; bottom, 78-79; affluents, 95; erosion of, xii, 78; navigation of, 33; voyage on, xix, 47; communication with, 93; expansion of, 100; villages on, 80; as a boundary, 70.

Mississippi Valley, towns in, xii, 79.

Missouri, travels in, 43, 60; prairie fires, 76-77; part of Louisiana province, 79.

Missouri River, new villages on, 80; mouth of, 85.

Mo-a-put-to, Ottawa chief, 167.

Moi-qua, Indian woman, 165-66.

Money, substitutes for, 63.

Mon-gaw, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Mon-gua-go, cession to, 164.

Montgomery, R., at Chicago treaty, 168.

Moran, Pierre (Peeresh), land grant to, 164-65.

Mosquitoes, trials from, 29, 30, 73, 90, 116.

Mount Joliet, described, 115-16; portage to, 117.

Muskrats, in Illinois, 98.

NAPOLEON, in exile, 81.

National Road, traveler on, xix.

Na-to-wa-se-pe, Indian village, 164.

Nay-ou-chee-mon, Pottawatomi chief, 167.

New England elements, in Illinois, xv, 59; characteristics of, 63.

New Harmony (Ind.). See Harmony.

New Orleans, as a port, 33, 47.

New York (State), advantages for emigrants, 51, 57; mosquitoes in, 73.

New York City, yellow fever in, xix.

Newspapers, pioneer, 67.

No-kaw-je-gaun, Ottawa chief, 167.

Noke-no-qua, Indian woman, 164.

No-shay-we-quat, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

OAKS, in Illinois, 90, 115-16.

Oats, price of, 27; culture of, 56.

Ohio, land cession in, 127; agriculture, 89; Shaker community, 23; visit to, 22, 30.

Ohio River, bed of, 14; navigation, 33, 36; floods in, xi, 13; route via, xx, 43, 47; as a boundary, 71; type of settlers on, 19.

Index

O'Meara, Barry E., *Memoirs of the Military and Political Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 81.

O-nuck-ke-meck, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

O-she-ak-ke-be, cession to, 165.

Os-see-meet, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Ottawa Indians, origin of, 146, 149, 157; arrive at Chicago, 143; speeches, 143-48; reservations for, 155; annuity, 159; treaty with, 122, 163-68.

Otter, in Illinois, 98.

Ot-to-wau-beh, Pottawatomi chief, speech, 154.

PALMYRA (Ill.), described, 44.

Panthers, dread of, 30.

Parc aux Vaches, Indian site, 163, 165.

Parroquets, in Illinois, xiii.

Pe-an-nish, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Peble River, village on, 164.

Pee-chee-co, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Peeresh. See Moran, Pierre.

Peerish, a guide, 109.

Pennsylvania, Germans in, 20, 23; emigrants, 28, 51, 57.

Peoria (Ill.), in 1818, xiii, xv; in 1821, 93.

Peoria Lake, on the Illinois, 89, 92-94; expansion of river, 96; described, 101-102; fort on, 102.

Perthshire (Scotland), emigrants from, 42.

Pe-say-quot, Indian woman, 165.

Philadelphia, as a port, 28.

Phillips, H., United States paymaster, 168.

Physicians, in the West, 47-48.

Pigeons, flight of, 71.

Pioneers. See Frontiersmen.

"Pioneers," an American novel, 48.

Pish-she-baw-gay, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Pittsburgh (Pa.), route via, xviii, 30; price of freight to, 28.

Pork, exported, 47; cheap, 97. See also Hogs.

Portages, on the Wabash, 15; on Illinois River, 105, 117; St. Joseph to Kankakee, 165.

Post carriers, in early Illinois, 78.

Potatoes, crops of, 88, 97.

Pottawatomi Indians, origin of, 146, 149, 157; branches

Index

of, 150, 152; relations with other tribes, 147; battle with, 106; village of, 103-104; boundaries, 129; act as guides, 108; treaty with, xx, 104, 122-68.

Prairie chickens, hunted, 61-62; 72; along Illinois River, 98, 114.

Prairie Ronde, village on, 164.

Prairies, in eastern Illinois, 3, 4, 6, 15-16, 46, 69; in western Illinois; 87, 93, 95; fertility of, 61, 70; origin of, 69-70; description of, 71-72, 112; fire on, 74-77.

Prices, of agricultural products, 27; cattle, 26; corn, 25, 88; land, 14, 16, 28, 35; peltry, 63; salt, 27; taverns, 27; traveling, 28, 55; decline of, 50.

Prickly pears. See Cactus.

Princeton (Ind.), English travelers at, 11, 32-33, 41; described, 33.

Pug-gay-gaus, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

QUAY-QUEE, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Quincy (Ill.), xi.

Quoi-quoi-taw, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

RACCOONS, hunted, 8, 10; as peltry, 98; price of skins, 63.

"Rambler," cited, 110.

Rappe, Frederick, founder of Harmony, 20, 21, 23.

Rattlesnakes, dangers from, 29, 30.

Reddick's Deposit, on Illinois River, 108.

Reservations. See Indian reservations.

Richmond (Va.), route via, xviii.

Riley, John, cession to, 165.

Riley, Peter, cession to, 166.

Roads, in eastern Illinois, 44, 60, 69-70, 72, 74; to Chicago, 160, 165, 167. See also Indian trails.

Rock Fort. See Le Rocher.

Rock Fort Rapids, in Illinois River, 119.

Roland, Antoine, cession to, 165.

Rum's Village, Indian site, 163.

SAC Indians. See Fox and Sauk Indians.

Saginaw, land cession at, 147.

St. Joseph River, affluent of Lake Michigan, 163; land, purchase on, 123, 164-66; Indians on, 129, 150, 152; portage from, 165.

Index

St. Louis (Mo.), site, 78; as a market, 89; an entrepot xi, xii, 60; road to, 60, 69-70, 72, 74; mail route to, 78; visited, xix, xx, 79-81; Indian treaty at, 129.

St. Mary's treaty of, 123, 127, 129, 134, 137, 140-42.

Salt, price of, 27.

Sandy soil, in Illinois, 107.

Sangamon River, insalubrity of, 86; population on, 88; description of, 89; mouth, 89, 96.

Sauk Indians. See Fox and Sauk Indians.

Sault Ste. Marie, Indian agency at, xix-xx, 98.

Say-gaw-koo-nuck, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Scenery, lack of appreciation of, 17-18; description of, 101, 107.

Schindler (Chandler), Theresa, cession to, 165.

Scho-mang, Pottawatomi chief, 167.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, narrative, xiv; illness of, 158; *Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley*, etc., xxi, 83-160; Sketch, xix-xx.

Scotch settlers, in the West, 41-43.

Ses-cobe-mesh, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Shakers, settlements of, 23-24; tenets, 24-25.

Shaw-ko-to, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Shawneetown (Ill.), in 1818, xi, 4, 13-14; land office at, 11, 14; described, 19-20; climate of, 32.

Shaw-waw-nay-see, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Shaw-way-no, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Shaw-wen-ne-me-tay, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Shaw-we-no-qua, Indian woman, 166.

Shay-auk-ke-bee, Pottawatomi chief, 167-68.

Sheep, captured by wolves, 31-32, 73-74.

Shee-shaw-gan, Pottawatomi chief, 167-68.

Sibley, Solomon, Indian commissioner, xx, 139-40, 163-68.

Skillet Fork, tributary of Little Wabash, 6; described, 11, 12, 15, 19.

Slavery, effect on American character, 36; in Illinois, 58-60.

Snakes, in Illinois, 30.

Soils in Illinois, 4, 14, 87-88, 107, 112-13; fertility of, 61, 70, 78, 85, 92, 94, 96, 101.

Index

Southern elements, in Illinois, xv.
Spinning, by frontier women, 12.
Spoon River, tributary of Illinois River, 89.
Springs, along Illinois River, 87, 97.
Squatters, characterized, 67. See also Frontiersmen.
Storrow, Samuel A., early traveler, xiv.
Surveys of land, 16.
Swamps, in eastern Illinois, 44; in western Illinois, 94.
Swans, in Illinois, xiii.
Swiss peasants, conditions among, 57.
Sycamore trees, in Illinois, 85.
TAVERNS, charges, 27; described, 31, 45; accommodations in, 43.
Taxes in early Illinois, 35, 55.
Ten Eyck, Conrad, at Chicago treaty, 168.
Terre Haute (Ind.), xi-xii.
Tobacco, price of, 27; culture of, 56.
Todd, Dr. Elnathan, character in fiction, 48.
To-e-ak-qui. See Schindler, Theresa.
Tonty, Henri, in Illinois, xiv, 110.
To-pin-a-bee (To-pew-ne-bee, Top-ni-be), Pottawatomi chief, speech, 132-34; sister, 164; signs treaty, 167.
To-to-mee, Pottawatomi chief, 168.
Traces. See Roads.
Traveling, expenses, 27, 28, 55-56; methods, 29; hardships of, 60-65.
Treaties, at Chicago, xx, 103, 121-68; Detroit, 142, 145; Fort Meigs, 151; Greenville, 145, 159, 167; Saginaw, 147; St. Louis, 129; St. Mary's, 123, 127, 129, 134, 137, 140-42.
Turkeys, hunted, 32, 98.
UNIONES, on Peoria Lake, 100.
United States army, in War of 1812, 76; bounty lands for, 85, 89.
United States Indian factors, among Indians, 150, 168.
VARNUM, Jacob, United States factor, 168.
Vermillion River, mouth of, 105, 117.
Vincennes (Ind.), 23, 41, 43, 78.
Virginia, port in, xviii, 3.
Visger, Jacob, at Chicago treaty, 168.

Index

WABASH River, affluents, 41; watershed, 46; headwaters of, 129; portages on, 15; as a boundary, 4, 11, 14; Indians on, 124; settlements, 23; ferry over, 3, 44; route via, xx, 15, 47.

Wa-baw-nie-she, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

War of 1812, incident of, 76; fort built during, 92; fort attacked, 134; close of, 80.

Was-es-kuk-son. See Knaggs, William.

Washington (D. C.), route via, xviii, 43.

Washtenaw River, village on, 165.

Waverly novels, publication of, 80.

Waw-ba-saye, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Waw-seb-baw, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Waw-we-uck-ke-meck, Pottawatomi chief, 167.

Way-me-go, Pottawatomi chief, 168.

Wayne, Gen. Anthony, treaty made by, 145.

Wee-saw, Pottawatomi chief, 167.

Wheat, price of, 27; culture, 56.

Wheeling (Va.), as a port, 22, 43.

Whippley, J., at Chicago treaty, 168.

Whisky, Cass advises against, 124, 139; Indian request for, 138.

White River, in Indiana, 15; crossed, 41.

Wildcats, in Illinois, xiii, 71.

Williams, —, English settler in Illinois, 3.

Williams, John R., adjutant general, at Chicago treaty, 168.

Winnebago Indians, habitat, 129.

Wisconsin, in 1817, xiv; Indians of, 129.

Wolcott Jr., Alexander, Indian agent, 168.

Wolves, in Illinois, 31, 36, 70; infest the prairies, 73; fear of, 30; barking heard, 74.

Woodlands. See Forests.

Wy-ne-maig. Pottawatomi chief, 168.

YELLOW fever, in New York, xix.

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